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National Anti-Slavery Standard.

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Selections.

ADDRESS TO PRESIDENT LINCOLN.

DEPUTATION TO THE AMERICAN MINISTER.

From the London Morning Star, Dec. 16.

A NUMEROUS and influential deputation from the Emancipation Society waited upon the Hon. C. F. Adams, the American Minister, yesterday afternoon, at his residence in Portland Place, to present to his Excellency, for transmission to the United States, an address congratulating President Lincoln on his re-election. The deputation consisted of the following gentlemen: Mr. William Evans (Chairman of the Society), Sir Charles Lyell, Bart., Mr. P. A. Taylor, M.P., Mr. Thomas Hughes (of Lincoln's Inn), Mr. S. Lucas, Mr. J. M. Ludlow, Professor F. W. Newman, the Rev. Dr. Brock, the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel, M.A., Mr. B. Scott (Chamberlain of London), M. Victor Schœlcher (formerly Under Minister of Marine in the French Provisional government), Mr. James M'Henry, Mr. Cunningham Borthwick, the Revs. J. W. Massie, D.D., J. Burns, D.D., J. W. Bayley, D.D., J. S. Jones, incumbent of Christ Church, Liverpool; W. D. Corkren (Brentford), J. C. Gallaway, M.A., T. Jones (Blackheath), and Dawson Burns, Dr. Frederick Tomkins (Temple), Mr. W. T. Malleson, Treasurer, and Mr. F. W. Chesson, hon. Secretary of the Society; Mr. H. J. Slack, F.G.S., Alderman Towle (Oxford), Mr. J. Cunnington (Brentford), and Messrs. J. A. Nicholay, John Gorrie, Mason Jones, C. H. Elt, W. Johnson (Cambridge), R. Hill (Bedford), George Newman, T. Cooke (Leicester), G. J. Holyoake, F. M. Edge, R. Hannah, E. Wainewright, G. Dornbusch, R. W. Biggs (Devizes), John Moore, W. Farmer, J. A. Horner, John Frost, F. Wright, W. E. Dawes, T. Hattersley, and many others:

Mr. WILLIAM EVANS, addressing Mr. Adams said: Sir, I have the honor, as Chairman of the Emancipation Society, to request you to do us the favor of transmitting to President Lincoln an address which has been unanimously agreed to by the Society, congratulating him on his election a second time as President of the United States. Perhaps it would not be proper for us ordinarily to interfere in a matter which has reference to the internal affairs of the United States, but there is a significance in Mr. Lincoln's election which takes it out of the category of ordinary events. You are all aware that we have taken a zealous, active, and important part in the emancipation of the negro. By example, by enormous sacrifices, by diplomacy, and by every other means in our power, we have endeavored to rouse the sentiment of the world to the horrors of slavery. We believe that the example of this country has been the means of inducing in your own countrymen what we consider a sound and wise view of this question, and has awakened the conscience of the North on this subject. The awakened feeling of the North on the subject has driven the slaveholders to rebellion, and that is really the whole cause of the war (hear, hear). The election of Mr. Lincoln under such circumstances we regard as an endorsement by the people of the United States of that policy which we conceive to be so important. We have seen with the greatest satisfaction the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln; we feel that it is a great step in the right direction. We sympathize deeply with the sufferings of the people of the United States. They are undergoing great trials which we believe to be in the world's cause; but we feel confident that success will crown all their efforts. We have much pleasure in asking that this address may be transmitted through you, than whom a better friend to the two countries does not exist (cheers).

Mr. F. W. CHESSON, the hon. Secretary, then read the following address adopted by the Emancipation Society for presentation to Mr. Lincoln:

To his Excellency, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States of America.*

SIR: We, the President and members of the Emancipation Society, with profound respect for your person and for your office, congratulate you upon your reelection as President of the United States of America.

Your first election marked you out as the freely chosen leader of the people for the express and avowed purpose of resisting the encroachments of the Slave Power, and we rejoice that, after four years' experience, your countrymen have again determined that you shall act as their chief magistrate for another term of office, in order that the hateful institution of slavery may be entirely abolished.

We agree with those who elected you in their deductions that "slavery was the cause of the rebellion" it is your duty to quell; that it "must be hostile to the principles of Republican government;" and that both "justice and national safety demand its extirpation," and we at the same time feel confident that whilst vigorously conducting the remaining operations of the war, so as to accomplish this high purpose, your administration will be guided, as it has hitherto been, by an earnest desire to mitigate the sufferings inseparable from a condition of strife. We have noticed with peculiar satisfaction the sanction and aid given by your government to the voluntary efforts of the Sanitary Commission, whose agents have not confined their beneficent action to their own party in the struggle; but have bestowed the greatest care and attention upon the sick and wounded rebels who have fallen into your hands.

We deplore the loss of valuable life in the protracted conflict which the slaveholders have forced upon your country; but it is an honor to you and to your fellow-citizens that no prisoners have been put to death for the mere fact of being taken in arms against your government; and we have faith that you will continue to show all possible mercy and forbearance to the enemies of your republic, and thus leave to your contemporaries and to posterity the grateful task of placing your moderation in noble contrast with the deplorable and sanguinary ferocity exhibited by European despots towards those whom their cruelty has driven to revolt.

That your exertions may shorten the duration of the war, and that your country, thoroughly purged and purified from the crime and curse of slavery, and with every citizen, without regard to race or color, standing in perfect equality before the law, may enjoy internal happiness, and exert a useful and wide-spread influence for the advancement of liberty and the general good of mankind, is the wish and prayer of your sincere friends.

(Signed) WILLIAM EVANS, Chairman.
P. A. TAYLOR, W. T. MALLESON, } Treasurer.
F. W. CHESSON, Hon. Secretary.

London, December, 1864.

Mr. P. A. TAYLOR, M.P., the Treasurer of the Society, then said: I am glad to be allowed to add one word in addition to the address to President Lincoln, and to the observations of the Chairman. We are certainly here to-day under somewhat exceptional circumstances. Under ordinary circumstances, if we took the course of presenting such an address to the President we might be open to the criticism of taking an unusual if not an impertinent step; and we might almost as well expect to hear the merchants of New York meeting and waiting upon Lord Lyons to congratulate him upon the success or failure of one of our great parties—of Lord Derby or Lord Palmerston. But we take it that these are no ordinary circumstances, and that it is no ordinary crisis through which America has been passing. A struggle of so tremendous a nature that modern history does not afford its parallel cannot be carried on without causing a wave of sadness and distress all over the world. We think we are in harmony with large numbers of our own countrymen, and with the best and truest of your countrymen, in rejoicing over the reelection of President Lincoln. We think we see in that reëlection, first, a forecast of the entire reconstitution of the great republic; secondly, the promotion of the abolition of that system of slavery which has been the spot of disgrace upon your countrymen; and thirdly, and as arising out of these two, we think we see in the future relations of England and America, based as those relations will be on ties of mutual esteem and respect, and on the natural sympathies of two nations looking back to a common origin and animated by common aspirations, a state of things which will tend towards the realization of peace, progress, and civilization (cheers).

The Hon. and Rev. BAPTIST NOEL said: I am very glad to express the feeling of great gratification with which I, in common with the gentlemen here, heard of the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln as a tribute from the American nation to his wisdom, to his patriotism, to his honesty, and to his firmness (cheers). It also, I think, expressed their thorough conviction that, while they were putting into his hands the powers that were necessary to bring the great rebellion to a close, they were quite confident that their domestic liberties were safe in his hands (hear, hear). Their choice seems to me to be as creditable to the intelligence of the nation as it was to his virtue. It must surely exercise a powerful influence upon the counsels of the South, because the nation has taught those who are in rebellion—the leaders of that rebellion—that it is as firm and resolute to maintain its own rights as they are ardent to secure the triumph of their lawlessness. That being the case, the leaders of the rebellion—especially if the magnanimous, generous and Christian-like proposal of Gen. Butler to include them in an amnesty, from which they would have excluded him, were adopted—would have no further grounds to sustain this struggle except the resolute determination to commit two crimes—the crime of causeless rebellion and the crime of cruel slaveholding. I cannot but hope that the leaders themselves, when they see the equal firmness and generosity of the North, may yield to wiser feelings; and, at any rate, it is satisfactory to observe repeated and growing evidence that the non-slaveholding population of the South is not so reluctant to return to the Union, where they may enjoy liberty, fraternity and equality, under the folds of the old flag (hear, hear). Whatever may be the case in the South, it appears to us here that, by the result of that election, the nation has expressed its determination, unmoved by any advice from any quarter, by the weight of taxation and debt, by the miseries and horrors which war may engender, by any treason at home, or by any temporary military reverse, not to abandon their resolution to extinguish the rebellion—the only source by which, as it seems to many others, the cruelties of the slaveholding system can be brought to an end and your nation secure a permanent and honorable peace to itself (cheers).

Sir CHARLES LYELL, Bart.: I did not expect to be called upon to make any remark; but I may say that having visited the United States several times I feel thoroughly convinced that this is a struggle between a higher and a lower civilization (cheers). I have felt intense interest in the contest, and, although I have been greatly surprised at the amount of resistance which the South has been able to show, I have never felt a doubt of the issue. Much as I deplore the suffering, the loss of life, and the bloodshed caused by the war, I feel satisfied that had the North been able more readily and immediately to put down that rebellion, we should not have attained that result which this society so earnestly desires—the emancipation of the negroes in the South. I believe that result would not have been so effectively brought about as it will be in consequence of the great resistance which the South has been able to make (cheers).

Rev. Dr. MASSIE next spoke and said he had much pleasure in giving expression to a sentiment which had grown in his mind since his visit to America as the deputation of the Anti-Slavery Conference, which adopted and sent an address to the ministers of all denominations in the United States. That sentiment was that the English and Americans were one people though two nations. Their sympathies, their literature, their religion and most of their laws have the same origin and the same tendency, and their union as one people, though two nations, would be of advantage to liberty not only in their own countries but all over the world (hear, hear). He was sorry to say that from certain very ostentatious displays of literary advocacy and the sympathy which had been given to the South there was a danger of an unkindly feeling being engendered in the minds of their friends across the Atlantic; but those parties and the people who followed them did not represent the middle and working classes, the back-bone and sinew of the nation (hear, hear). He had lately visited the leading towns in the North of England and in Scotland as a deputation from the Freedmen's Aid Society, and he had found in all the meetings which he had held that the sympathies of the people were unanimously with the North. They had hailed the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln with cordial, unanimous, and, indeed, enthusiastic feelings as a great blessing not only to America but to the world (hear, hear).

Mr. THOMAS HUGHES: I am delighted to take this opportunity, or any other, of testifying my deep and intense sympathy with the cause of law, of freedom and of righteousness, which I believe to be the cause of the North. I have also great pleasure in taking this and any other occasion of testifying my hearty admiration of the noble simplicity and grand steadfastness of purpose of President Lincoln.

Rev. Dr. BROCK said that the moral spectacle presented by the election of Mr. Lincoln would be for admiration throughout all generations. When they recollected the prognostications that he would certainly be beaten—when they saw the efforts that were made to defeat him—his triumph was significant and complete; and when they recollected that everything was done in a peaceful and constitutional manner, and that upon Mr. Lincoln's election there did not rest a blot such as there did upon some elections with which they were familiar (hear, hear), they had reason to thank God and take courage (hear, hear).

Dr. FREDERICK TOMKINS said he had accompanied Dr. Massie as the deputation of the Freedman's Aid Society, and he could bear out his statement as to the universal sympathy of the working classes in the places they had visited with the cause of the North and abolition.

Rev. Mr. JONES, who represented the Liverpool Emancipation Society, said that that Society had to fight one of the hardest battles and moral campaigns in which they had ever been engaged in this country, and the result of which, he ventured to say, was highly satisfactory. He believed that nowhere more than in Liverpool would the election of Mr. Lincoln have a marvellous effect. He believed that Liverpool society was rapidly developing into two classes—those who had always had a latent sympathy with slavery, and with whom morally they had nothing to do and those who had always had a latent sympathy with freedom, of whom the great majority, if not the whole, will soon be convinced that the cause of freedom was identified with the cause of union (cheers). Mr. Lincoln's reëlection had exercised a powerful effect on the public mind, and in the future relations of Liverpool and the United States it would be found that nowhere more than there was the conviction rooted that the cause of freedom and cause of union were one.

Mr. MASON JONES said he could confirm the observations of preceding speakers as to the feelings of the working classes on this question. He had addressed meetings in Manchester, Liverpool, and other towns, and he had found without exception that the working classes were in favor of the North. He regretted to say, however, that while the hearts were generally on the side of the North, the pockets were generally on the side of the South; the men with the fustian jackets were in favor of liberty, and those with black coats were generally in favor of slavery. (A laugh.) He hoped that in the further construction of the Union there would be no compromise with the Slave Power; that the Conservative party in the North would not be allowed to dictate to Mr. Lincoln; that slavery would not only be abolished, but that the negro would be invested with full political freedom, that there would be throughout the union one indivisible liberty for all of whatever race and colour.

Dr. BURNS wished to point out that the President had been elected under different circumstances this time to what he was formerly. Then he was elected to be chief magistrate to both North and South, but this time he was not tied by political bonds to act otherwise than as his own noble head and his large heart might direct him.

Mr. J. A. NICHOLAY, as one largely familiar with the opinions of large masses of the working classes, wished to add his testimony to their universal feeling in favor of the cause of the Union and emancipation. He expressed his belief that the expression of public feeling which was inaugurated by the great Exeter Hall meeting and followed by the St. James's Hall and other meetings had had a very powerful effect, and had preserved the country from serious complications.

His Excellency Mr. Adams made the following reply:

MR. CHAIRMAN AND GENTLEMEN: I receive the address which you are pleased to commit to my care with great satisfaction. Coming as it does from an association of such respectability in this kingdom, it cannot fail to be regarded in America as a strong proof of the friendly interest taken by a considerable portion of the English people in the welfare of the United States whilst passing through their great perils. This will do great good. For I cannot disguise from myself or from you the painful fact that an opposite disposition has been manifested here in very influential circles, and that the knowledge of this has given rise to a general impression among my countrymen that the whole British nation really desires the disruption and consequent downfall of the power of the United States. Hence has sprung up a corresponding degree of ill-will which bids fair, if not counteracted, only to increase with time. If such passions be permitted a full indulgence between two nations it needs little sagacity to foretell that in the long run the end is war. Very fortunately for us all in the present case, the demonstrations already made by yourselves, and many other associations whose friendly communications from various portions of the kingdom I am now continually receiving for transmission to America, will enable those who value the blessings of peace and international amity to prove that, whatever may be the hostility of some, it is by no means shared by the greater number of the British people, and ought not to be presumed to be a national impression (cheers). Permit me, gentlemen, further to observe that the election to which you refer in your address has drawn out as full and general an expression of the opinion of the whole people of the region in which it has taken place as has ever been the case in the most peaceful times. Never was a canvass more perfectly free, nor more latitude taken in the discussion of public questions and of the character of public men. Under these circumstances it is needless to point out to you how mistaken have been the notions of some that any essential variation has taken place in the general operation of free institutions in all that portion of the United States (constituting much the greatest part) not immediately the theatre of the war (cheers). I would further beg leave to call your attention to two points which the history of the late election appears clearly to establish. The first is the practical impossibility of making any effective separation of the personal and political interests of the two sections of America now involved in this deplorable struggle. This is indubitably shown by the fact that at no time in our history has so direct and persistent an effort at interference to control the event of the election of President been made by the people of the insurgent States as upon this last occasion, whilst they profess—and doubtless honestly—their desire to separate themselves wholly from it. The notorious projects devised by some of their agents at Niagara Falls in the Autumn, followed as they were by the nomination at Chicago of a candidate for the Presidency committed to a policy dictated by that portion of the people well known to be most in sympathy, if not in absolute communication, with them, furnish evidence enough of this truth, if the same were not confirmed by the regrets unequivocally expressed since by certain prominent leaders in the Southern States, at the failure of their expectations from that nomination. This shows that whatever might be the sincerity with which either portion of the country might act in the supposition that it should consent to pledge itself to a complete separation, the fact that the political interest of the two are inexplicably intertwined will, under every possible circumstance, render all such promises in practice futile and void. The second point to which I would advert is naturally suggested by the first. It is this—that the only real question of difference between the two parties in the election was that which directly involved the interests of the slaveholding insurgents much more than those of the loyal States (cheers). The nomination at Chicago rested on an implied, if not an express engagement, to protect domestic slavery so far as not to make it a question in any plan of pacification and restoration of the Union (hear, hear). The policy of the government, on the other hand, was well understood to be a restoration of the Union as a primary object, but the settlement of the slave question as a necessary preliminary to a durable reëstablishment of peace. If this be a correct statement of the issue, it can be no cause of surprise to find the insurgents straining every nerve to bring about a result favorable to their interests. It was then the fate of slavery that made the turning point in the great decision to be made by the people of the United States on this occasion. If this be so, the result is one in which we may be permitted all to rejoice in common. It has continued a government which had already done much towards emancipation in the progress of the war, and which might be depended upon to go on doing more, in proportion as matters should approach more nearly the great end of its perfect work (hear, hear). I will conclude, then, with the expression of a hope that without regard to national distinctions all good men may have cause to rejoice in the termination of this melancholy struggle, if that end be at once the confirmation of a free government in America, and the eradication of the most formidable evil with which its progress has been heretofore cursed (loud cheers).

Three cheers were then given for Mr. Lincoln, and the deputation withdrew.

The following letter was received from Mr. KARL BLIND:

LONDON, December 15.

DEAR SIR: Though unable to take part in the presentation to which your honoring letter invites me, I am, with all my sympathies, on the side of the Union and Emancipation cause.

Had the secret favorers of the South carried the election, the onward course of the Republican armies would have been checked by treacherous intrigue; and, the result would probably have been a renewed compromise with principles which, from their very nature, ought forever to be placed out of the pale of humanity.

The sound sense and energetic will of the American people have nipped the intrigue in the bud. All true freemen throughout Europe rejoice that free government, free popular education, free labor have carried the day. The representatives of millions of Germans in the United States have voted in this sense. A hundred thousand Germans have fought for the same cause on the Transatlantic battlefields. Our native country at this moment rings with joy at the triumph of civilization and liberty over barbarism and aristocratic assumption. It trusts that the victory of the American Republic will prove an auspicious event for the emancipation of European nations.

Let us hope that the powerful decision of November 8th will imbue the American leaders with a resolution not to cease in their exertions until the very base of Southern society be changed by free colonization, and "State rights," that last line of defence of the oligarchs, be replaced by the superior rights of humanity.

Yours faithfully, KARL BLIND.

F. W. CHESSON, Esq., Hon. Secretary to the Emancipation Society.

THE UNITED STATES AND ENGLAND.

From Harper's Weekly.

THE speech made by Professor Goldwin Smith on the evening before his departure for England is described as sad. It is not surprising that it was so when we reflect how determined the rebel intriguers in Canada, the Canadians themselves, and a large party among ourselves, seem to be, to involve England and the United States in war, while Mr. Smith, with every thoughtful American and Englishman, knows that such an event would be a profound misfortune to civilization itself.

Certainly it should be enough to make the most exasperated enemy of England pause, to reflect that his wrath is used by rebel emissaries as a tool against his own country. The one thing that would set all the bells of Richmond ringing, that would be more than an offset to Sherman's and Thomas's successes, that would nerve Lee's arm to strike more cheerfully and heavily at Grant, is a menacing difficulty, and chiefly a war, with England. To that end all the rebel agents in Canada are working; and if this foolish Justice Coursal could, by his release of the St. Albans raiders, occasion war, a statue of lead would justly be decreed to him by the rebel Congress, as the greatest benefactor of the rebellion.

That the governing class in England are, as a body, opposed to us is true, and the reason of the opposition is obvious. The only excuse for a monarchy is its cheapness. It is a better police or it is nothing. But if it can be shown that a nation can govern itself and suppress a fearful rebellion, and conduct a general and most exciting election in the midst of civil war with perfect tranquility, then a republican form is demonstrated to be cheaper, easier, and better, and what can a monarchy say for itself? The objection to our system has hitherto been that it was never tried. In June, on a calm sea, your pretty yacht sails smoothly enough, has been the cry, wait until January and a tempest; they are now here, and if out of the tornado the yacht safely emerges, the critics must be dumb. The aristocratic or feudal form has sincerely disbelieved in our popular system. It could not wish it success, for success was its own destruction. Therefore, with few exceptions, the aristocracy of England has been against us, and the commercial class, which hopes one day to be aristocratic, follows in its wake. The aristocrats and the snobs are our enemies. But they are not England.

Not only Goldwin Smith says that "the main body" of the English people are not against us, but Earl Russell at Blairgowrie, more than a year ago, frankly confessed that the British government would be neutral because the majority of the people sympathized with the government of the United States. These are witnesses from both sides. Goldwin Smith is one of "the main body" for which he speaks. Lord Russell is one of the hostile governing class, which the opinion of the main body controls.

Now although it is true that the aristocracy directs the acts of the government, it has regard in that direction to the popular sentiment. It stopped the rams very decidedly, not only because it was told that we should regard their departure as a virtual declaration of war, but because it knew that a war with the United States would not be popular in England. The England of a hundred years ago, which was that of the aristocracy unchecked by the people, would have long since recognized the rebel Confederacy and made war upon us. But as governments come to represent the people, directly or indirectly, they grow wiser. It is the people that pays, the people that fights, the people that suffers, and they will not blindly or foolishly rush to war. In our own case the British aristocracy, the rebels, and the rebel emissaries in Europe and Canada, would gladly embroil the two nations. But what have the American people and the English people to gain by war?

National honor is not vindicated by giving way to passion or prejudice. A hot and furious nation is no more respectable a sight than an angry man. The haughty insolence of manner in a government should no more disturb the national equanimity than the supercilliousness of an English Lord should exasperate a cool American gentleman. He is a gentleman who keeps his temper, and whoever keeps his temper best protects his honor and defends his life.

If the sound public sense of England cannot restrain its government from direct or indirect acts of injury and outrage upon this country, war will, of course, follow, sooner or later. But, meanwhile, let us all carefully discriminate our friends from our enemies, nor be swift to suppose that the acts of individuals are necessarily national acts. The meeting in Liverpool to protest against the escape of the Alabama was quite as significant as the sailing of the vessel. The timely detention of the rams by Earl Russell was quite as important a fact as the rescue of the pirate Semmes by an English "gentleman"; and the repudiation by the Canadian authorities of the judgment of Coursal is a much weightier event than that Dogberry's release of the St. Albans robbers.

THE INCREASE IN VOTERS AND POPULATION.

WE have now complete returns from every State that participated in the Presidential election, except Oregon, and are, therefore, in a position to appreciate fully its grand result. Two days after the election the *Tribune* estimated the majority for the Union ticket in the twenty-five States in which a full vote was polled at 400,000. The complete returns show that this estimate is, in fact, exceeded by more than 7,000, our aggregate majority being more than 407,000. In 1860 the same States gave 138,704 majority against Lincoln, showing a gain for the anti-slavery principles laid down in the Baltimore platform of more than 545,000.

No less gratifying than the progress of the people since 1860 in the principles of freedom, is the fact, clearly shown by the election returns, that however great our losses during the war may have been, our strength in men is not only not exhausted, but that the number of voters this year largely exceeds that of 1860. In 1860 the 25 States above referred to cast 3,870,222 votes, while this year the aggregate vote, counting in the Counties from which returns were not received in time for the official canvass, exceeded 4,020,000; showing an increase of fully 150,000 votes.

Considerable as this increase is after four years of terrible war, it is yet no fair index of our advance in population since 1860. There are four States among the twenty-five which show a great reduction in the number of voters as compared with 1860—Kentucky, Missouri, Maryland and West Virginia. Thousands of rebel sympathizers had left these States to join the rebellion; thousands of others did not vote, because they did not want to appear as citizens of the United States, or because they refused to take the oath of loyalty prescribed by the laws of their States. The decrease of population in these States has obviously not been in proportion with the decline of the number of voters. Leaving them out of the account, we shall reach a fairer estimate of the increase of our population during the last four years. The following table exhibits the number of votes cast in the remaining twenty-one States in 1860 and 1864, and the increase or decrease in the aggregate vote of each of them. We have substituted in the case of Michigan the vote for Governor for that cast for the Presidential ticket, because seventeen Counties had not been heard from at the time of the official canvass:

States.	1864.	1860.	*Increase.*	*Decrease.*
California	100 953	120 865	.....	19,912
Connecticut	86,976	78 792	8 184	....
Delaware	16 922	16 043	879	....
Illinois	348 226	339 693	8 533	....
Indiana	280 471	272,265	8 206	....
Iowa	138 671	128,331	10 340	....
Kansas	20,132	.....	20.132	....
Maine	106,014	97 918	8 096	....
Massachusetts	175,487	169 175	6 312	....
Michigan	165 649	154 747	10 902	....
Minnesota	42 435	34,421	8 014	....
Nevada	16 420	.....	16 420	....
New Hampshire	69.271	65,923	3 348	....
New Jersey	128.747	121 125	7 622	....
New York	730,721	675.156	55 565	....
Ohio	470 532	442 441	28 091	....
Oregon (estim.)	18 000	13 908	4 000	....
Pennsylvania	572,702	476 442	96 260	....
Rhode Island	22,162	19 951	2 211	....
Vermont	55 740	44 644	11 096	....
Wisconsin	149,342	152,018	2 656	....

Aggregate increase, 314,211; decrease, 22,568; total increase, 291,643.

The aggregate increase in the number of voters in these twenty-one States is therefore no less than 291,643. If to this number we add the number of soldiers from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Delaware, Indiana, Illinois and California, who while away from their homes were prevented by the laws of their States from exercising the right of voting, and also the increase in the number of voters in the organized territories, the aggregate increase would largely exceed four hundred thousand.

In 1860, the whole vote of the United States was 4,680,193; in 1856, 3,992,818. The increase, therefore, during these four years was about 688,000. Comparing this aggregate with the increase of the twenty-four States above enumerated, it will be seen that the ratio of progress in the latter has been, in spite of the war, fully as large as that of the United States in general from 1856 to 1860.

The inference is justified from these undeniable facts, that the people of the United States are yet amply able to carry the war against the rebellion to a successful end, and that, notwithstanding all the ravages of the war, the steady progress of the country, or, at least, of the free States, has not been arrested.—*Tribune.*

GEN. BUTLER AND THE COLORED TROOPS OF NEW ORLEANS.

From the Commonwealth.

GEN. BUTLER raised the first colored troops that were mustered into the United States service during the present war. The rebels had raised a regiment or two of free colored men in New Orleans, called the "Native Guards." The line-officers were colored men, and held their commissions from the Governor of the State of Louisiana. In the absence of real power and instructions from Washington, Gen. Butler said that these colored soldiers were a part of the militia of the State, and as such, he claimed that he had a right to call them into service. No amount of reasoning or abuse would change his determination. He therefore instructed Lieut.-Col. S. H. Stafford (one of his aids-de-camp), during the month of August, 1862, to organize the first regiment, which was done; and it was mustered into service by Maj. Giddings, U. S. A., on the 27th of September. The regiment was then called the First Regiment La. Native Guards. It is now called the Seventy-third U. S. Colored Infantry, and has about nine months more to serve to make up its three years. On the 1st of October, 1862, the regiment left New Orleans for the field, and took an active part in the Autumn campaign under Gen. Weitzel, when he captured the Lafourche District, as well as when he made his expedition up the Teche and destroyed the rebel gunboat Cotton.

Before he left the Department, Gen. Butler put two additional regiments of colored men into the field (the Second and Third Regiments of Native Guards), fully armed and equipped; and while others were debating the expediency of arming negroes he was practically illustrating their ability to become soldiers. So sure was he that the government would have to endorse and finally adopt his scheme, that he assured the men that they should receive their pay (which, by the way, has not yet *fully* reached them), and that it would be obliged to recognize them as a part of its army.

It should be put on record that Gen. Butler gave, from first to last, his support to the officers and men of the colored regiments. He did not pretend friendship, and at the same time allow his subordinates to openly insult, or in any way retard the organizing and disciplining of the colored soldiers. He knew he was thrusting upon the nation an unpopular idea, and he found that the opposition to colored soldiers was as strong in the army as out of it; but he did not yield to that prejudice. We have lived to see not only his ideas adopted (there being now nearly one hundred and fifty regiments of negroes, of all arms, in the service), but now the rebel leaders are using his arguments in favor of colored troops, and propose to admit negro soldiers to their army. It should be noted that the only fighting that has been done by colored troops in the Department, has been done by the identical regiments raised by Gen. Butler. These soldiers have been found trustworthy and reliable; they have travelled thousands of miles, and built no end of earthworks; have shown themselves brave in battle, and loyal supporters of the government. Gen. Butler knew he could trust these men, and he did trust them. They reposed confidence in him, and he did not betray that confidence. He did not, while the soldiers were absent in the field, thrust their daughters, wives and mothers into prison uncharged with crime. Nor would he allow the rebels to turn into the streets the wives of colored soldiers because they had no means of paying their rent. Gen. Butler was removed from the Department too soon; but had he remained he would have given the colored soldiers an opportunity to assert their manhood in open fight.

It would be interesting to trace the history of the colored soldiers under Gen. Banks's administration, but that must be left for the present. It is to be hoped that some one may be found to give the *facts* as they are. It is cheering to believers in human progress to know that the colored soldiers have performed all that Gen. Butler, as their sponsor, promised for them.

It was a sad day for the friends of the Union when Gen. Butler left the Department of the Gulf. His place has never, and can never be filled. He was unlike any other man. He was himself alone. His shrewdness, energy and determination were worth to the government twenty thousand troops. When anyone approached him with news that had been obtained by a laborious effort, he seemed always to have obtained it by an easier and shorter way. However secret the city rebels were in their plans, they were in the end surprised to learn that their "secrets were no secrets." He seemed to know all that was passing about him. His memory was wonderful. He did not store matters away in the corners of his brain "for future consideration." He gave his opinion at once upon all questions, and his decision was final. He never paused to learn what "the policy of the government was to be," but he had the sagacity to comprehend what it *should* be, and what it *must* be, and he acted to that end.

Under Gen. Butler's administration it was the Union people, and not the rebels, who received favors. He fed the poor Unionists, white and black, from the purses of the same rich rebels who had contributed so much in money to set the rebellion on foot. He was friendly to the loyalists, but to the rebels he was bitter and grinding. He did not try to "conciliate" the latter. He had no new dancing-steps to teach the "secesh" ladies, unless it was to take steps on the road to Ship Island. In his mind, the majesty of the government was a thing to be respected. He could never, as a representative of the government, bow before the rebels, and ask them to respect the government. He thought it was *they* who should bow, and it must have given him a secret pleasure when he observed, as it were, the moral weight of the government impinge the tender consciences of the rebels. It is surprising what he accomplished with his little army of eight or ten thousand men. His executive genius was displayed by the situations into which he was often and suddenly thrust. While he was busy with such work as devolves upon the commander of an army, he found time to devise means to protect the health of the city and of his troops. He made personally careful inspections of the hospitals, and of every department of the service, and gained an accurate knowledge of the condition and wants of his officers and men. In short, he performed more labor with his brain than any other man could or would have done under like circumstances. Let anyone who may choose to do so investigate his record. It is a noble one, and time will only serve to brighten it. W. R. F.

THE FULL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT.

SINCE printing our table in the daily *Tribune* of Dec. 24, we have received full returns from California and Nevada, except part of one County in the former State, leaving only Oregon to be estimated. The result will be found in the table below, taken from the *Tribune Almanac* for 1865, to be issued within a few days. We compare the vote with that of the same States in 1860, at which time Mr. Lincoln was in a minority of 139,570. He now has 407,381 majority, which shows a change in his favor equal to 546,951 votes. There are several Counties and a good many soldiers' votes in Western States not included in our figures, the returns having arrived too late for the official count for Electors, although, in a few instances, such votes were in time for us, and were reckoned in. We think the aggregate of those yet excluded would not amount to 25,000. We do not count the votes cast in Tennessee, where from 18,000 to 20,000 were cast for Lincoln, and less than 100 for McClellan. Louisiana did not vote directly, the Legislature choosing her Electors. In Old Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas, there were no votes cast, regular or irregular.

States:	President. 1864. *Lincoln.*	*McClellan.*	President. 1860. *Lincoln.*	*All others.*
California	58 698	42 255	39,173	79 667
Connecticut	44 691	42 285	43,792	33 454
Delaware	8 155	8.767	3 815	12 224
Illinois	189 496	158 730	172 161	167 532
Indiana	150 238	130 233	139.033	133 110
Iowa	89 075	49 596	70,409	57,922
Kansas	16,441	3 691	.....	.....
Kentucky	26 592	61,478	1 364	144 852
Maine	61,803	44,211	62 811	35 107
Maryland	40.153	32,739	2 294	90 208
Massachusetts	126 742	48.745	106 533	62 642
Michigan	85 352	67 370	88 480	66,267
Minnesota	25 060	17 375	22 069	12 730
Missouri	71 676	31 626	17,028	148,490
Nevada	9 826	6 594	.....	.....
New Hampshire	36 400	32 871	37 519	28 434
New Jersey	60 723	68,024	58 324	62 801
New York	368,735	361 986	362 646	312 510
Ohio	264 975	205 557	231 610	210 831
Oregon (estim.)	10.000	8 000	5 270	9,140
Pennsylvania	296 391	276 316	268 030	208 412
Rhode Island	13 692	8 470	12 244	7 707
Vermont	42 419	13 321	33,808	9 036
West Virginia	23 152	10,438	.....	44 947
Wisconsin	83 458	65,884	86,110	66,070
Total	2,203 943	1,796 562	1,864 523	2,004 093
Per cent	55 09	44.91	48 20	51 80
Lincoln's maj	407,381	Anti-Linc. maj.	139 570	

Whole vote in 1860, 3,868,616; in 1864, 4,000,505; increase in the same States, 131,889. The entire vote for President in 1860, including all the Southern States, was 4,680,193.—*Tribune.*

THE WORKINGMEN AND MR. LINCOLN.

A CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS.

A MEETING of the workingmen of South London was held on the evening of Nov. 8th, at the Lambeth Baths—Rev. Newman Hall in the chair—to rejoice over the election of Mr. Lincoln. The following address was adopted by acclamation:

To his Excellency, ABRAHAM LINCOLN, *President of the United States of America:*

SIR: We, the workingmen of South London, in public meeting assembled, present our most respectful but hearty congratulations on your reëlection to the Presidential chair. We rejoice in the manner in which that election was conducted, as well as its results, proving, as it has done, that the possession of full political power by the masses of the people does not tend to lawlessness, even when exercised under extremely trying circumstances. We regard the action of the decisive majority which has again placed you in power as another proof that the great nation over which you preside is pledged to connect the restoration of the Union with freedom for the negro, and with his being ultimately placed before the law on a perfect equality with the white man. We lament the great sufferings caused by this war, as we abhor the treachery by which it was commenced, and we earnestly pray that peace may soon be established, not by such unholy compromise as would cause a speedy renewal of the war, but a peace which, being righteous, will also be permanent. We deprecate the unjust and unkind remarks of a portion of our press and people in reference to yourself and the great cause you represent; but these be no more regarded as a fair representation of the opinion of Great Britain, than the statements of some papers and public men in America respecting this country are to be taken as a fair representation of the opinions of America. In conclusion we beg to assure you of our earnest prayers that Almighty God may long preserve your life, and give you all needful help in the important position you have been called to reoccupy at this important crisis; and hoping that America will soon be reunited and free, and that your nation and our own may ever be found in perfect agreement for the good of the world and the glory of God, we bid you farewell.

THE TRIUMPH OF RADICAL POLICY.

From the Rochester Express.

FROM the beginning of the present war, a certain class of views as to the measures necessary to preserve the government, and the proper mode of dealing with the rebellion, has been popularly known as "the radical policy." Its distinctive feature was the recognition of slavery as the vital cause of the controversy between the government and its enemies, and the destruction of slavery as the great essential to true and permanent peace and Union.

These views, so obviously just in themselves, have been held by a considerable body of the people from the first; but the nation was so debauched by slavery, which had been the ruling power in the government for so long a time, that it was scarcely surprising that there should be a timidity and hesitancy about destroying the popular but inhuman idol. Anything except slavery which should organize a rebellion to destroy the government, would be doomed to immediate destruction; but towards slavery, at the outbreak of the contest, there seemed

from this dark passage in our history, it will not be uninteresting to reflect that this war, inaugurated to perpetuate SLAVERY, will end in EMANCIPATION; that the Southern rebels and Northern traitors, who conspired to make slavery the corner-stone of a new empire, have thrown all former anti-slavery effort into the shade, and proved themselves the most immediate and practical of Abolitionists.

Nor is it unpleasant to remember that the foreign governments who, in the hope of compassing our destruction, have encouraged and prolonged this rebellion, thereby compelling us to put forth our full strength, will have added immensely to the completeness of our triumph; and that we shall, perhaps, owe to their interference the grandest features of our future career, a more perfect Union, a more intense nationality, an universal freedom, and all the blessings of peace, happiness and culture that naturally follow in their train.

We have gained new faith in the unity and destiny of our country, as one that an overruling "Providence will not let die," although set upon by all the Powers of Europe, aided by the subtle influences which have striven in vain to uphold slavery and secession.

We have learned to feel, and we have taught the world to recognize the fact, that the American Constitution, which Washington declared was intended to secure "the consolidation of our Union," and to extinguish what with prophetic vision he denounced as "that monster," State sovereignty—which even now is devouring our children and ravaging our country; we have learned that that Constitution, in its wonderful adaptability, is as well fitted for war as for peace, and that the government it establishes is—as the rebel Vice-President Stephens declared before he attempted to destroy it—the noblest government in the world.

But we have learned also that no Constitution, however perfect, will secure a nation in its rights without a sleepless patriotism on the part of the people; and it is to their virtue and vigilance that we owe the victory we are met to celebrate, and we must not forget that our success has imposed upon us new and solemn duties. The responsibilities of the war are with us, and we may be sure that not only our opponents, but the world and posterity, will hold us to the strictest accountability.

In looking at the election of Mr. Lincoln we are struck with the thought that a more generous confidence was never exhibited by any people—that a larger constitutional power was never possessed by any government. Mr. Lincoln, no longer a minority President, holds his seat by a popular majority without a precedent. He is sustained by a working majority in the present Congress, and by a majority in the incoming House of Representatives, while the Legislatures and Executive of nearly all the loyal States stand ready to second his rightful efforts to crush the rebellion and to restore the Union.

And now, with such eminent opportunities for success, we are to recognize and avoid the errors of the past.

The military situation is eminently satisfactory. The triumphant march of Sherman, gathering by the way an army of recruits; the admirable cooperation of Foster's forces, embracing one of our colored regiments from New York—the gallant twenty-sixth; the brilliantly victorious career of Thomas, scattering far and wide the army of Hood; the joint military and naval expedition of Porter and Butler; the call for 300,000 men—all show that the President recognizes and obeys the demand of the country for sharp, thorough and decisive action, and that our gallant soldiers in the field are to be promptly reinforced.

With the suppression of the rebellion and the reconstruction of our old Union there will come, throughout the sunny South, by this rebel war and an amendment to the Constitution, the substitution of free homesteads for slave plantations; and what a blessed vista that thought opens for the imagination!

But, gentlemen, there are grave questions which immediately concern us, and whose importance is nowhere better appreciated than in these sister cities of Brooklyn and New York, which together constitute the largest national centre of trade and commerce. Prominent among these questions are our national finances and our foreign policy.

Recognizing with pride and gratitude the eminent ability and services of the late and present Secretaries of the Treasury, and their successful refutation of the prediction of the London *Times* that the war on our part would stop from the want of money, we cannot shut our eyes to the dangers that threaten us in the near future.

With resources so boundless, and a power of recuperation so marvellous that burdens which would crush other nations we can carry with ease, we still cannot afford to double and treble these burdens by blundering about the principles of finance, and raising the cost of the necessaries of life by too widely enlarging the volume and depreciative the value of the currency, which must in the end fall most heavily upon the purchaser in the market, and the laboring classes most heavily feel the pressure.

Nor is it becoming that the National government of this republic—stronger to-day than any despotism in Europe—should be put to shifts for raising money. The country demands of Congress a tax so large in amount as to establish firmly the national credit, and at the same time that it be laid with as much regard as possible to evenness of pressure and convenience and economy in the collection.

In regard to our foreign relations, the popular branch of Congress has exhibited concern at the seemingly timid tone of our foreign diplomacy—a tone so novel in American history, and so little in harmony with the American character.

Due force must be allowed to the explanation offered for this excess of caution, that we could not afford to have two wars on our hands at once, and that we were bound to defeat the rebel design of involving us with England or with France. But now that the extreme exigency is passed, and victory attends our banners and foreshadows our early restoration, it will doubtless be felt at Washington as clearly as it is throughout the country that firmness in demanding our rights, and frankness in avowing, when the occasion requires it, our ancestral predilections, if not our hereditary policy, is after all the best mode of arousing in those governments that wholesome feeling of respect which is the surest guaranty of peace.

To insure a proper observation of our rights, we must be prepared not merely to solicit, but to enforce them. A meek acquiescence in foreign encroachments will never elevate us in the world's regard, nor can the effect of submission in one case be removed by exhibiting uncommon bravery in another.

England has taught us a great lesson in the matter of the iron-clads, whose piratical ravages she viewed with apparent complacence, and for whose detention she could find no warrant, till we said quietly, "This is war."

France, also, has taught us a lesson which we cannot forget, when we recall the assurances of M. Thouvenel and mark the manner of their fulfillment by an Austrian Prince, guarded by French bayonets, claiming to rule that neighboring soil which our fathers declared ought never again to be trodden by the propagandists of European despotism.

Sooner or later, and perhaps very speedily, we must encounter openly this foreign hostility, embracing, it may be, Protestant England and Catholic France, and forming a holy alliance for our destruction. Let us now so wisely act that when that struggle shall come the issue on our part shall be clear and just, so that not only the party of progress in England, but all the friends of freedom on the Continent—and their name is legion—will be compelled to sympathize with the free republic which aristocratic jealousy would destroy.

Neither England nor France will make haste to strike at republicanism in America if they know that the rebound of the blow will precipitate a revolution in their own homes.

All that our government has to do is to be just and wise, and fear not; and in its domestic policy let it trust the patriotic instincts of the people—let it stand by the men who have faithfully sustained its principles, and avoid entanglement with the unprincipled cliques who, in the midst of war, will sustain their government for a consideration.

We lost this Empire State in 1862 by the treachery of an immoral faction that betrayed the party it pretended to support, defeating the heroic Wadsworth, and electing in his stead Horatio Seymour.

Of the demoralization which resulted from that betrayal of our true-hearted leader, who has since fallen in the field, fighting for the country he loved so well, I need not speak, save to remark that in its encouragement of the rebellion, its prolongation of the war, its increase of our national debt, its cruel waste of the blood of our sons and brothers, its incitement to the New York riots of '63, it furnished a warning, not to be slighted, of the responsibility that would devolve on a government which, in a crisis like this, instead of relying with confidence on the unbought patriotism of the people, should bid for the support of venal politicians, and lean on the betraying arm of a treacherous faction.

Let the nation be true to itself and the government true to the nation, and the brightest future is before us that ever opened upon any people; and our old flag, with its starry constellation undiminished and undimmed, will be recognized wherever it shall wave as the flag of freedom, and the fitting emblem of the Star of Empire.

A movement to colonize Delaware with Northern immigrants has received the sanction and assistance of Gov. Cannon, and is already in successful operation. The Congregational Churches in Philadelphia were invited the other day to attend the ordination of a Congregational pastor in that fertile little State, which will quickly slough off the dead skin of slavery. To carry out this work *in extenso*, an association has been formed in New York, under the style of "The Christian Emigration Union," whose object is briefly announced to be "to promote emigration, accompanied with Christian, educational, and other institutions of enlightened civilization." There will doubtless be many such organizations as soon as the South is fairly thrown open to Northern enterprise. The earliest would seem to have an advantage over those formed hereafter. Rev. L. C. Lockwood, President, No. 1 Park Place, will respond to all communications relative to the proposed union.—*Independent.*

A pro-slavery clergyman was once travelling from New York to Boston. Being told that one of his fellow-passengers was Wendell Phillips, the noted Abolitionist, he determined to enter into conversation. After a few moments' argument he said, "But if you are so opposed to slavery, Mr. Phillips, why don't you go down South and preach to the rebels!" "For the same reason, sir," was the reply, "that you do not go to hell to preach religion to sinners." The interlocutor sloped.

"PEACE, PEACE," WHEN THERE IS NO PEACE.

Special Dispatch to the New York Tribune.

PEACE COMMISSIONERS GONE TO RICHMOND.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1, 1865.

FRANCIS P. BLAIR, Sr., and Montgomery Blair have gone to Richmond on a mission of peace. It is questioned here if their errand is self-inspired, or if they went in obedience to a request communicated to Blair, Sr., by Jeff. Davis. It is understood that the passes and orders which cover this expedition were received by the President.

REMARKS BY THE TRIBUNE.

Our last dispatch from Washington states that Messrs. Francis P. Blair (senior) and his son Montgomery have gone to Richmond, and that it is understood that their errand is one of Peace—or, perhaps we should more accurately say, to see whether any termination of our National struggle is now attainable. We presume their mission is not in terms official; but it were absurd to pretend—considering who they are, and what are their personal relations to the President—that it is unauthorized.

While we consider Richmond about the least hopeful point in the Confederacy at which to seek an acceptable peace, and regret that the Messrs. Blairs had not proceeded, or offered to proceed, direct to Raleigh instead, and while we can scarcely encourage hopes of any immediate pacification as a result of this mission, we yet rejoice that it has departed, and are confident that its influences will be salutary and its ultimate consequences beneficent. For the Southern people need, above all things, to be undeceived with regard to the origin, impulses and purposes of the War for the Union. They have so long been incessantly told that the North is fighting for subjugation—for unrestricted dominion—for spoliation, devastation and rapine—that thousands who should know a great deal better actually seem to believe it. The visit of the Messrs. Blair to Richmond, and the propositions which they will there (doubtless) submit to the Confederate chiefs, cannot be kept from the knowledge of the South, and cannot fail to be largely influential in disabusing the Southern mind. If it shall thence appear that the North wants nobody enslaved, but everybody liberated, nobody despoiled but the rights and earnings of every human being placed under the protection of just and equal laws, then we say it is scarcely possible that the fierce malignity, the vengeful hate, which have thus far animated the rebel masses in their war upon their own country, can retain their virulence unmodified. And at all events, in this mission the civilized world will see, even though Dixie should still obstinately bandage its own eyes, the evidence of a spirit pervading our loyal people and their government quite different from that persistently ascribed to them by their enemies. We are therefore inclined to attribute a profound significance to the visit of the Messrs. Blair to Richmond, and to expect from it beneficent even though not immediate nor very palpable results.

Special Dispatch to the New York Tribune.

WASHINGTON, Tuesday, Jan. 3, 1865.

Francis P. Blair, senior, and Montgomery Blair returned yesterday afternoon without peace. Montgomery Blair went North by rail last evening.

All that is known of their mission is this; the President was fully apprised of the motives and purposes that induced the elder Blair to desire to go to Richmond, but he declined to make himself responsible for the journey.

He would not give a written authorization of it, nor officially promote it, but he told Mr. Blair that he should allow Gen. Grant to act on his own sense of duty and policy in forwarding him to Richmond or refusing him a passage through our lines.

It is understood here that when the Blairs reached Grant's headquarters a telegram from the Secretary of War was there ahead of them, apprising the General that their mission to Richmond was self-assumed and without the authority of the President, and suggesting, in the spirit and tenor of the dispatch, if not in words, that the mission had better be stopped.

The Blairs stayed at Headquarters two days, and then retraced their way home. It is understood that Montgomery was not to go into Richmond with his father; that he was to await his return at City Point.

To strip this mission of all diplomatic character, a letter has been pushed to-day that Mr. Blair simply endeavored to get to Richmond to recover portions of his political correspondence taken last year by Breckinridge from his mansion at Silver Spring, and which was of so delicate a character that mercy to living politicians and decency to dead ones required that it should be recovered and suppressed at all hazards.

REMARKS BY THE TRIBUNE.

Our special Washington dispatches give, we have no doubt, along with many bits of idle gossip, the true explanation of Mr. F. P. Blair's abortive mission toward Richmond. The gist of the matter is, that Mr. Blair, believing that he might, by visiting Richmond, pave the way to a just and lasting pacification of the country, proposed to go there, and the President, while he declined to give the visit an official character, saw no reason for preventing it. Mr. Blair, accompanied by his son Montgomery, accordingly repaired to Gen. Grant's headquarters before Richmond, but was not permitted to proceed further, because the Secretary of War, believing no good could be effected by his proposed conference with the Confederate chiefs, saw fit to intimate to Gen. Grant that he did not approve Mr. Blair's proceeding, nor believe that it could result in any good; which Gen. Grant very naturally interpreted as a hint from his immediate superior not to allow Mr. Blair to pass his lines on his way to Richmond. Mr. Blair has thereupon returned, per force, to Washington.

—Assuming this to be substantially the truth of the matter, we cannot doubt that a majority of the American people will regret Mr. Stanton's decision. We do not know, and have at no time felt confident, that the rebels are yet prepared to agree to any terms of pacification that our government either would or should deem acceptable; but we can imagine no possible harm that could result from ascertaining precisely what they *are* ready to do. The recognized object of war, at least among civilized and Christian nations, is an honorable and satisfactory peace; and how are we to know when this end has been rendered attainable unless we take some means to ascertain? An established, rightfully constituted government, combating an armed and menacing rebellion, should strain every nerve to overcome at the earliest moment the resistance it encounters, and should not merely welcome but seek satisfactory (however informal) assurances that its end has been attained. It cannot afford to give countenance to even a groundless imputation that it contemplates with satisfaction a continuance of hostilities for their own sake, on any ground of mere punctilio, or for any other reason than because it is compelled, by an absorbing regard for the very ends of its existence. In our judgment, therefore—assuming that we have a correct apprehension of the leading facts—Mr. Stanton has made a grave mistake, one that the country will not be inclined permanently to acquiesce in.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT.

SEND IN THE PETITIONS!

THE members of the House of Representatives who desire to effect the passage through that body of the Joint Resolution—already adopted by the Senate—submitting to the States an Amendment to the Constitution for the prohibition of slavery, will, we are sure, be glad to receive and present petitions from the people in aid of that object. Such petitions, if numerously signed and promptly forwarded, may perhaps prove the very weights to turn the scale in favor of Justice and Liberty.

We are requested to state that blank forms of petitions for this object may be obtained at the Anti-Slavery Office in Philadelphia. We have no such forms in this office, but print the following, which any reader can copy in five minutes:

To the U. S. House of Representatives:

The undersigned, citizens of ————, respectfully but very earnestly entreat you to pass the Joint Resolution, adopted by the Senate on the 8th of April, 1864, proposing to the Legislatures of the several States an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, providing that slavery shall not exist in the country, and that Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

CHARGE TO AN ARKANSAS JURY.—He would have been a bold prophet who, four years ago, should have predicted that within this time an Arkansas Judge would charge a grand jury that "holding or selling slaves is a crime, amounting to a felony," and four-fifths of the qualified jurors should agree to find bills of indictment in accordance with that charge. This has just happened in Pulaski County, the Judge making the charge being Liberty Bartlett, a native of Massachusetts. The Judge reviews the action of the State in attempting to secede from the Union, declares it contrary to the State and Federal Constitutions, and therefore null and void. He takes the ground that the new free State government was regularly organized, and is now the legitimate government of Arkansas, and that its act abolishing slavery is now law; consequently, slavery has become a penal offence, and is to be dealt with and punished by the courts. The grand jury of Pulaski County is indicting its slaveholders as felons. This is their just reward for rebelling, in order to strengthen the accursed institution.—*Springfield Republican.*

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1865.

☞ PLEDGES made to the *American* or the *Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Societies* are now payable; and it is earnestly requested of all who may be owing such to forward the amount of their pledges, without delay, to the Treasurers of these Societies respectively, or to Samuel May, Jr., 221 Washington Street, Boston.

RECONSTRUCTION THROUGH EDUCATION.

THE question of Reconstruction, as it is well termed, is the one which presses the most closely at this point of time on all thoughtful minds. As the suppression of the rebellion, and with it the extinction of slavery, has become more and more a certainty—if not yet an accomplished fact, still a fact fast accomplishing itself—the consideration of what is to come afterwards, of what are to be the fruits of the victory, grows more and more instant and engrossing. For it is clear that a mere Reconstruction will not meet the exigency. No possible rearrangement of the machinery of State governments can satisfy the necessities of the new state of things. The Reconstruction must be social as well as political—of society as well as of laws and government—to be what the new situation demands. It must reach to the very groundwork of social order, so that the new State shall rest upon sure and steadfast foundations. Southern society requires a radical conversion, to be renewed in the spirit of its mind, to undergo a change of heart, to become a new creature, before it can perceive all the blessings that this war is destined to force upon it, in its own despite. If the South be left to itself, or not directed by the maturest wisdom, the war may be followed by a condition of things not much better than that which went before it—even though slavery should be technically abolished. The fear of this has darkened our very victories with the gloomiest apprehensions, and caused many of the best and truest anti-slavery minds to look with doubt and dread upon every step of the General government towards the renewal of order and self-government in such portions of the rebel country as have been reduced by our arms. The course of events, however, has happily rendered these dangers less likely to occur, while the activity and forecast of the Northern mind has been busy in foreseeing and providing against them in advance.

When the intelligence and patriotism of the North, stimulated by its benevolence and philanthropy, began to reflect upon this matter, the first thing that had to be considered was how the South and the North were to be blended into one homogeneous whole and become one nation instead of two. The radical differences, and their causes, which had separated the two sections of the country, were not far to seek. Their manifestations lay upon the surface, and though their causes lay deeper down, they were easy to be discerned of eyes that were single and therefore full of light. Society resting on Chattel Slavery in the one region and on Free Labor in the other, demanded respectively ignorance and darkness, and knowledge and light, as the necessary condition and atmosphere of their existence. If the social state in the South country is to be revolutionized by the introduction of the Northern Domestic Institution of Free Labor in the place of its fatal and ruinous one of Slave Labor, the revolution must go farther and deeper than this external development merely. Light must displace darkness and knowledge ignorance, in order that the new order of things may be at once enduring and beneficent in the highest degree of which it is capable. To this end, education must prepare the ground and lay the foundations deep of the New State. Intelligence and free government being inseparable ideas, the believers in the possibility of a government truly free being substituted for the mobocratic oligarchy, which has so long misgoverned the slave-country, saw that the only way in which this blessing could be secured to it was through the enlightenment of all classes there, white and black. It being plain that the government could not provide for this need, while occupied in the absorbing business of the armed suppression of the rebellion, which alone can make Reconstruction possible, the people have taken upon themselves to do this necessary work, themselves. As the Sanitary Commission was organized to aid the government in its care of the sick and wounded while the war lasted, so the Freedmen's Aid Associations sprung into being to make its yet greater work, which is to come after the war, easier and safer.

Though the excellence and safety of free governments depend on the intelligence and virtue of the governing masses, and though these must be mainly composed of the laboring classes, white as well as black, of the region to be regenerated, the latter element was obviously all that could come within the sphere of the operations of these organizations. To take the slaves by the hand as they were freed by the operations of the war, and by force of the President's Proclamation, and help them to prepare themselves for their new condition and to make the best use of it, was the task proposed to themselves by the devoted men and women who dedicated themselves to this work. And a nobler task was never undertaken, nor one whose issues were more far-reaching and beneficent. It is building for all time and providing for the Christianization, the civilization, the progress, the virtue, the prosperity of unborn and countless millions. And the work has been admirably performed, and the harvest has shown itself almost contemporaneously with the seedtime. The effects of the labors of the missionaries which these Associations have sent forth into this field, moral, intellectual and material, are truly surprising. They show how capable of being moulded into good citizens and thrifty pains-takers are the despised, neglected and down-trodden negroes. These efforts are creating the "men, high-minded men," which alone "constitute a State" out of materials that have always been treated, and been taught to regard themselves, as scarcely above the beasts that perish. The population of the South, soon to be its People, are learning as fast as they can be reached to know their rights and, knowing, to dare maintain them. They are receiving a greater boon even than citizenship—the knowledge how to use it aright. With such masses, even with the degree of enlightenment which two or three years can bestow, slavery becomes doubly impossible—forbidden by law and impracticable through intelligence. We know with what scrupulous care the slaveholders used to shut up every cranny by which light could penetrate to the minds of their slaves. Their instinct told them that slavery could not exist in the light it hated because its deeds were evil. The haters of slavery, taking a lesson from their enemies as well as from their experience, perceived as instinctively that what the slaveholders forbade was the very thing that was needful. The instinct of the slaves agreed with theirs. Hence the Freedmen's Relief Associations, and hence the great success that has attended upon them.

We have said that the operation of these Associations is to make the negroes fit to perform the duties of citizens. It has been the consistent and persistent doctrine and teaching of the Abolitionists, wherever the occasion arose, that any distinctions in the rights of citizenship on account of color were Anti-Republican and Anti-Christian, damaging as well to the proscribing majority as to the proscribed minority. We hold that perfect equality before the law is not only the absolutely right thing, but the politically expedient, as well. In all the political rearrangements which are to grow out of this rebellion, we shall demand, as we have always done, that the brand of slavery shall not be perpetuated by the scar of political disfranchisement. We believe that this can be accomplished, for we apprehend that no intelligent statesman would hesitate as to the class at whose mercy he would leave the fate of the new experiment. If the remodellers of the governments of the slave States fail in this duty, there will remain a posthumous work for the Abolitionists to do after slavery is dead. Its works must perish with it. But on the supposition that the suffrage will be granted to the blacks with no other restrictions than are laid upon the whites, it is absurd to affirm that they are yet fitted to discharge that highest of civil duties in the wisest and best manner. They will still be liable to be misled and deceived by scheming politicians, perhaps to their own injury, as much if not more than ignorant white men at the North. These Associations are doing all that can be done to save them from this fate and to prepare them to use their new prerogatives wisely and well. We think no one will deny that they are doing a patriotic as well as a philanthropic work, which must redound to the advantage of all portions of the country. It is a most gratifying characteristic of the American people that, at a time when one would think the necessary burdens of the war would be as much as we could bear, they should voluntarily tax themselves as much again in money, time and labor to assist the government in the care of the wounded, and to educate the Freedmen up to the dignity and office of Freemen. And these latter organizations, as well as the former, have gathered themselves everywhere throughout the free States. Besides the Boston Educational Commission, the New York and the Philadelphia Freedmen's Relief Associations, Societies of the same character have been formed in all the principal Western cities and are fast forming in many towns and villages. We need not say that this enterprise needs help, and the statement of its needs is all that is necessary to procure it. Our readers have seen in our columns from time to time most gratifying reports of its progress. As the abolition of slavery becomes more and more certain, the moral, intellectual and political condition of the emancipated slaves becomes the object of the gravest thought. The duty of Abolitionists to their clients will not cease with the technical abolition of slavery. It will only change its shape. These Relief Associations prefigure the work that will remain to be done—the finishing of Emancipation and the perfecting of Reconstruction through Education.

THE STATE OF NEW YORK.

THE Legislature of the State of New York convened at Albany on Tuesday. In the Senate the chair was taken by Mr. Alvord, the newly-elected Lieutenant-Governor. In the Assembly Mr. George G. Hoskins of Wyoming was elected Speaker. Governor Fenton was inaugurated on Monday with the usual ceremonies. His message, sent to the two Houses on Tuesday, is patriotic in its tone and gives a very encouraging view of the affairs of the State. Here is what he says of the war and related questions:

"The best criterion of a great people is their capacity for endurance. Mankind show themselves heroic amid suffering and trial; so with our ancestors, so it is with us now. And, having resolutely determined to go thus far in the struggle, we shall not falter or hesitate when the rebellion reels under our heavy blows, when the victory, upon all the methods of human calculation, is so near.

"It is hardly worth while to enter into a general discussion of the causes of the war which was forced upon us, or to speak of the duty of the people in the crisis. The flagitious character of the former is seen more and more clearly, and the latter is so obvious and readily accepted, that I could add nothing to its clearness or the spirit which animates it. In the years of peace and prosperity of our country, the Northern mind, as a general thing, reposed in the anticipation that slavery would be ultimately removed by methods, though peaceful, as imperative and inexorable as are the laws of population and the progress of Christian civilization. The like consideration or apprehension rendered the slaveholding class in the South politically desperate, and with the bitterest hatred toward free industry, finally led to the conspiracy against the government. The slaveholder contemplated his own class, which, numerically, did not include more than one million and a half. He saw, on the other hand, that the preponderance of free labor, with its increasing power and right, would, in the future, govern the country. It was this view of the case which led the privileged portion of the South to enter upon the project of revolution, and which not only meant separation from the North, but also a change from a Democratic to an Aristocratic government—to abrogate popular government [illegible] upon the Falls of the old which should perpetuate slavery. It was a conflict over the fundamental principles of government. This is alike evident from the purposes of those fomenting and leading the revolt, and from the ready sympathy with which the treason has been greeted by the oppressors of popular government in Europe.

"Whilst the patriotic masses of the Union who have struggled to uphold the nationality and save the life of the Republic have had the active sympathy of the humane and liberal people of Europe, we have found in the supporters of anti-Democratic governments abroad, the apologists, the advocates, and, to some extent, the aiders and abettors of the rebel cause. So long as human bondage could be made a national stigma and dishonor to bring American democracy into disrepute, the organs of aristocracy in Europe were open in reviling slavery. But when slavery perpetuation became the motive for overthrowing popular institutions in America, the rebellion was justified in the opinion of this class.

"But we may reasonably expect, in view of transpiring events, and the recent expression of public opinion, that this institution which has thus always been an element of weakness and dissension at home, and a source of reproach abroad, will be eradicated from the land. It seems to have been so ordered, by an overruling Providence, that the mad ambition of those who sought to perpetuate slavery, at the expense of the Union and civil liberty, should not only have arrayed the armies of the North to overthrow its material power, but should have stimulated the moral consciousness of the people to a clearer view of its weakness and disloyalty, so as for the first time in our history to render its utter extinction feasible.

"I may safely predict, as I earnestly hope, that an amendment to the Constitution will be speedily submitted to the people and adopted by them, which shall forever prohibit slavery within the free Republic of the United States of America.

"The Constitution of the Union makes it the duty of the National government to maintain for the people of all the States republican governments. It is no less the duty of each State to throw its whole weight and influence firmly on the side of this great fundamental requirement. This government our fathers intended to establish and transmit as a legacy to posterity. Irrespective of the division into States, we are called upon to maintain and perpetuate the trust. Eighty years of enterprise, prosperity and progress have not lessened our obligations, or checked our devotion to the great cause of civil liberty. It is not a mistake to assume that, whatever exigency may follow, whether domestic or foreign, the great body of the people will go forward to meet and overcome it with the same firm and irresistible energy which characterized our ancestors, and has marked the subsequent course of our civilization. In this patriotic determination of the people for unity, liberty and the Constitution, I shall, at all times, earnestly join."

The people of the Empire State may congratulate themselves that the reign of Seymour is over, and that they now have a Governor whose official conduct will not put them to the blush before the nation and the world.

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19 ST. JOHN STREET, EDINBURGH, Scotland, Dec. 6, 1864.

To Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON, *Esq., New York.*

MY DEAR SIR: It may perhaps surprise you that I should presume to thrust myself upon your notice, but my excuse for it is the very great interest I take in the anti-slavery cause as I find it advocated in the ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD, of which I am a constant reader. The weekly receipt of your paper affords me great joy and pleasure, I find so much in it to cheer and gratify all true lovers of liberty. I read every article it contains, and that the first thing after it comes to hand. The two last numbers have been especially cheering, because they informed me of the overwhelming majorities which have placed the great and good Abraham Lincoln in the President's chair for another four years. I think I am right in saying that this result of the election of the 8th ult. makes the abolishment of slavery as much an object of the war as Union has ever been or can possibly be. My conviction of this rests principally upon the Baltimore nomination platform and the President's letter addressed "To whom it may Concern"; and I feel confident that the message which your President will have read yesterday to the National Legislature will be such as to more than sustain such a conviction. Such a condition of affairs as this ought not only to quell every form of opposition to your cause here in Abolition England, but secure for you our most heartfelt sympathies.

I must not, however, continue in this strain longer, as it cannot be of interest to you; and as I have two requests to make, I will now proceed to state them. And the first is to ask you to send me a copy of the "Historic Photograph of Gettysburg," noticed in your "Summary" on the 19th ult. Should you so kindly favor me as to attend to this I will forward the cost of the picture, verses and music, as you may direct, on its receipt. My second request is to ask you to procure for me, if it is possible to get one who would be willing to spend a few moments in such a way, a young, intelligent gentleman correspondent, who would send me a few lines from time to time. My reason for making such a request is just this: My study of American affairs since the war commenced has led me to wish I had an American friend to whom I could express my notions of these affairs and thus gain further information. I have no friend or acquaintance in your country save one brother and his family, who went to Texas some twelve or fourteen years ago. I heard from him about two years ago, at which time he was drafted into the Texan militia. He then spoke of much suffering and bereavement, but as to his subsequent history I have had no means of learning anything.

In conclusion, if my requests are such as not to merit your attention, I trust you will pardon me. My reason for troubling you is the love I bear to your cause and country, and I have learned to love both by reading your paper and such works as Victor's "Southern Rebellion" and a few others of less note.

Yours, most respectfully, A. BRYDEN.

We will endeavor to find and forward to Mr. Bryden, the photograph and the music of which he speaks. As for securing him a correspondent, that is more than we dare promise. Perhaps some one, seeing his letter, and willing thus to serve the cause, may volunteer his services.—*Editor.*

PERSONAL.

Anna E. Dickinson will deliver a lecture on the War at the Cooper Institute, in this city, on Tuesday evening, Feb. 14.

Rev. D. A. Wasson, one of the best contributors to the *Atlantic Monthly* for a few years past, has been invited to Cincinnati to take charge of the First Unitarian Society of that city. It is expected that he will go about the middle of January.

The friends of Rev. H. W. Beecher, at Peekskill and vicinity, who were recently edified by that gentleman's enthusiastic eulogy of the apple as a fruit, made him a New Year's present of a huge apple-pie, two and a half feet in diameter, and cooked most deliciously.

The remains of the late Hon. W. L. Dayton, U. S. Minister to France, arrived in this city Dec. 30, and were taken to the City Hall, where they lay in state until the next day, when they were conveyed to his former home in Trenton, N. J., in charge of eminent citizens of that State.

Secretary Seward left Washington Tuesday night, to attend the funeral of Hon. G. M. Dallas at Philadelphia on Wednesday, and that of Hon. W. L. Dayton at Trenton on Thursday. He was attended by William Hunter, Chief Clerk of the State Department, Mr. Nicolay, the President's Private Secretary, and Mr. Robert Lincoln, son of the President of the United States.

Miss Sedgwick, a lady whose literary readings have given pleasure and satisfaction in private circles, commenced a series of three readings and recitations in the Lecture Room of the Historical Society on Thursday evening of the present week. The two other readings will take place on the next succeeding Thursday evenings, Jan. 12th and 19th.

George Mifflin Dallas, Vice-President of the United States under President Polk and Minister to England under Buchanan, died at his home in Philadelphia on Saturday last. After his return from the Court of St. James, he took sides with the friends of the Union, expressing a marked abhorrence of the rebellion, and refusing to encourage the opponents of the present Administration.

The Liverpool *Albion*, noticing the return of G. A. Sala from the United States, says:

"Mr. Sala expressed himself as highly delighted in being once more on British ground, his more recent personal experience of American society having been the reverse of agreeable. *On dit*, that on board the Persia, Mr. Sala was 'sent to Coventry' by the American passengers, who state that he would not have escaped 'cowhiding' had he remained much longer in the Northern States."

The Rev. Thomas Starr King was unexpectedly introduced to a jury at Rockford, Ill., in the Winter of 1857. He went into the court-room on Monday, and Tom Corwin, who was making an argument, furnished him a seat, and then, turning to the jury, said: "Gentlemen, you know that, like God-fearing men, we all went to church yesterday, and heard our young friend here lay down certain propositions. Let us now look at the evidence in the light of these divine principles."

Mr. Brainard of Boston has sent us a copy of a very fine portrait of William Lloyd Garrison, drawn by T. M. Johnston and lithographed by Bufford. We hear that it is generally satisfactory as a likeness to Mr. Garrison's most intimate friends, and as a work of art it will certainly bear criticism. The *Commonwealth* says: "We hear that the list of subscribers to this portrait is unusually large, and comprises those of every shade of political sentiment. This is as it should be."

George D. Prentice, of the Louisville *Journal*, has returned from a five weeks' residence in Richmond, where he went to avert justice from his son, a Major in the Confederate Army, who has been on trial for murder. A telegram from Washington to the *Tribune* says: "Prentice states that the public men in that city are unanimous as to the policy of freeing and arming the slaves. Their scheme of military emancipation embraces a donation of bounty lands, and the prospect of the freedom of the families of the slaves who fight."

Thomas Sims, whose extradition from Boston, under the Fugitive Slave law, was the occasion, some years since, of so much excitement and indignation, is said to be acting as a United States Recruiting Agent in Nashville, Tenn. "It took," says the Boston *Transcript*, "considerable war power to get him out of this city into slavery again, and strong prejudices had to be conquered by a law-abiding people. Other prejudices have gone overboard since then, and Sims and his fellow-victims now have the law-abiding people on their side with armies to back them; thanks to the suicidal madness of the chivalry."

Wendell Phillips, in his recent speech in Philadelphia, spoke of Edward Everett as one of the new converts to the Republican party, adding:

"And when I name Edward Everett I desire to say that I name the cap-sheaf of American magnanimity for the last three years. I know of few men in any age or language who at near seventy years of age, with such a career behind them, had the loftiness of spirit to stand before twenty million of their countrymen and say, 'I was mistaken.' Such men are rare in any age, and certainly deserve fair credit for such a confession. They are the new converts."

The sum of $50,000, in Seven-thirty U. S. Bonds, was presented to Vice-Admiral Farragut, on behalf of the contributors, at the Custom House on Saturday last. The presentation speech was made by Moses Taylor. Vice-Admiral Farragut responded in an appropriate manner, after which remarks were made by Collector Draper and A. A. Low, Esq. After the ceremonies were over the Vice-Admiral and his wife took the cars for their home at Hastings-on-Hudson, where they met an enthusiastic reception, the people generally turning out to do them honor by escorting them to their dwelling. Arches, with suitable inscriptions, were erected over the streets, and an address was made to the Vice-Admiral in the Ref. Dutch Church, to which he made a happy response.

Theodore Tilton was not very gallant to the Chicago ladies in his address there lately. He said there were more ways of recruiting our army than one. There were two soldiers once, in Grant's army, lying beneath their blankets, looking up at the stars in a Virginian sky. Says Jack, "What made you go into the army, Tom?" "Well," replied Tom, "I had no wife, and I love war. What made you go to the war, Jack?" "Well," he replied, "I had a wife, and I loved peace, so I went to the war." He doubted not that among the fair faces he saw before him many had contributed to swell the ranks of the army in both ways.

Bayard Taylor heard the colored tragedian, Ira Aldridge, perform Macbeth in English at Nijni-Novgorod, in Russia, and says of him:

"This son of the South, no doubt, came legitimately (or, at least, naturally) by his dignity. His career, for a man of his blood and antecedents, has been wonderfully successful, and is justly due, I am convinced, since I have seen him, to his histrionic talents. Both black and yellow skins are sufficiently rare in Europe to excite a particular interest in those who wear them; and I had surmised, up to this time, that much of his popularity might be owing to his color. But he certainly deserves an honorable place among tragedians of the second rank."

The Chicago correspondent of the *Independent*, in that paper of last week, says:

"We have just had a visit from that eloquent man, that friend of humanity, George Thompson, no longer our enemy because he told us the truth thirty years ago. He gave us two addresses: one upon the moral heroism of our friends at Lancashire, and one upon the occasion of thanksgiving for the progress our country had made in legislation for freedom. His reception was an ovation; the good cheer he gave us was a feast of fat things. Starting out with a friend to attend some Thanksgiving service, he was informed that he had some new converts and some old Abolitionists, and that Dr. Patton was one of the latter. Well, said he, I am an old Abolitionist and a Congregationalist; let us go there. They went, and heard a discourse which he complimented very highly in his address the next evening."

"The approaching Senatorial election in Massachusetts," says the Washington correspondent of the *Commonwealth*, "is spoken of here as a matter already settled. All men feel that the reëlection of Henry Wilson is so palpably the thing to be done that it is not possible the Legislature can hesitate or delay in doing it. The Senatorial representation of Massachusetts is worthy of her ancient name and her present power. Sumner is the fit exponent of her scholarship and rarest culture; Wilson the true type of her intelligent working-classes; and each alike a recognized spokesman of her advanced thought and her liberalized Christian statesmanship. To change such a representation now would be to violate what somebody called the eternal fitness of things."

Among the eminent persons who died in the year 1864, the Springfield *Republican* mentions the following: Archbishop Hughes of New York; whose last words were, "Bury me in the sunshine." Adelaide Ann Proctor, the English poetess. Rev. Edward Hitchcock, D.D., of Amherst, geologist and author. Rev. Thomas Starr King of San Francisco; dying words, "Yes, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me, Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me." Owen Lovejoy, M.C., of Illinois. Mrs. C. M. Kirkland, authoress, Nathaniel Hawthorne, author. Geo. P. Morris, poet and editor. Park Benjamin, poet and author. Generals Sedgwick, McPherson, Wadsworth, Birney. Chief-Justice Taney of the U. S. Supreme Court. Prof. Benjamin Silliman, Senior, of Yale College. William L. Dayton, U. S. Minister to France.

Says the Boston *Commonwealth* of last week: "The hospitable mansion of William Endicott, Jr., Esq., Mount Vernon street, was thrown open, on Wednesday evening last, to welcome Hon. Schuyler Colfax, of Ind., Speaker of the House of Representatives, and other distinguished gentlemen. Among those present were Senator Wilson, Representatives Rice and Boutwell, Collector Goodrich, Naval Officer Tuck,

Our Boston Correspondence.

BOSTON, January 3d, 1865.

I WRITE a day later than usual, and therefore necessarily more briefly than usual, to give you some idea of the proceedings of the colored people here in celebration of the Emancipation proclamation of January 1st, 1863.

They held three meetings. The first, in the forenoon, designed chiefly for the expression of devotional feeling, was held in the 12th Baptist church (Rev. Mr. Grimes's) in Southac street. Rev. James Sims (a brother of Thomas Sims) assisted the pastor in conducting the services. There were prayers, hymns, reading of the Scriptures, and remarks upon the various aspects of the cause of freedom, and the present and prospective relation of the colored minority to the white majority in this country. Some very affecting remarks were made by an old man, eighty-two years of age, describing the impression which the events of the last four years made upon his mind, and his gratitude for a change such as he had hardly dared to hope for. He had been four times sold as a slave in his native Maryland, and his joy at the progress of reform in that State was well-nigh unspeakable. Gratitude to God and to the President seemed the predominant feeling in the minds of the most of them, while others strongly expressed the feeling that the deliverance of their race, so far, was due solely to God's mercy, and that he had overruled, for their good, the conservative and procrastinating policy of the President, not less than the cruel and heartless tyranny of the slaveholders. This meeting and the subsequent ones gave full evidence of the same variety and independence of thought among the colored people as exists among ourselves.

One of the earnest and impressive speakers at this meeting was Rev. Joshua V. Himes, formerly pastor of a little church in Chardon street, where the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Societies were held for a considerable number of years, while the fashionable churches and popular halls were shut against them. At that time Mr. Himes was a zealous laborer in behalf of the abolition of slavery. If he has during the intervening years been less prominent in that cause, I am convinced it has been from no lack of zeal or faithfulness, but from a peculiarity of theological idea which leads him to expect in our time (as St. Paul and St. Peter obviously did in their time) a speedy destruction of this earth, which may come any day or night, and is to be watched for diligently till it does come. This conviction must of course concentrate the interest and action of those who hold it upon subjects of labor where immediate rather than remotely prospective results are to be looked for.

Afternoon and evening meetings were held in the spacious Tremont Temple, the Chairman being ——— Walker, Esq., a member of the bar in our neighboring city of Charlestown. His introductory address was vigorous and able, and might have been heard with advantage by any who doubt the intellectual ability of the colored race, the capacities and rights of which were the main topics of his speech. Just after he had closed, his vigilant eye caught the Hon. Henry Wilson, who had evidently hoped to be a silent auditor, but who willingly came forward in reply to the Chairman's invitation, and briefly addressed the meeting. His wish was not only for immediate and unconditional emancipation, but for an amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery. He thought that, one week from that very day, the House of Representatives would give their voices for such an amendment. But if they did not, the next Congress would; and he hopod that the President would summon it to assemble for that purpose at 12 o'clock on the 4th day of March next. He recognized the fact that much would still remain to be done after this was accomplished. The spirit of slavery, as well as slavery itself, must be rooted out; and his words and deeds to this end should never be wanting.

The next speaker was Dr. J. B. Smith of Boston, who enlarged, with strong feeling, upon the necessities and aspirations of the colored people. The work of establishing equality and fraternity for them is now to be done, and must be done, before peace and prosperity can revisit us. The colored race in this country want their rights; those rights which they have learned from our Declaration of Independence to regard as self-evident and incontestable. As among the governed classes in this country, and therefore entitled to some expression of choice in regard to the officers of government, they claim the right to vote; and they claim that such ignorance as makes no obstacle in the case of other classes shall not operate to their exclusion. They ask no more than justice. They will be satisfied with no less. Similar ideas and feelings were expressed by several others among the speakers of the afternoon and evening.

Rev. A. A. Miner of Boston, a minister of the Universalist denomination, a man sympathizing warmly with works of reform generally, and one who has taken a prominent part in labors for the colored race, slave and free, gladly joined in the rejoicings and congratulations appropriate to this occasion. It was not merely Abraham Lincoln who issued the proclamation of Emancipation. He hesitated and lingered. And the act, when it came, was more Divine than human. The course which this whole matter has taken shows that it is God who rules in the earth. We are his instruments; but it behooves us to be *willing* instruments.

The last of the afternoon speakers, Rev. Gilbert Haven, was one of those Methodist ministers who, many years ago, labored zealously to bring his brethren of that sect to the work of purifying their Church from slavery, and removing the traces of complicity in that sin which still linger in their "Discipline." He spoke frankly and powerfully of the proofs that prejudice against color still actuates the leading men in the Methodist Church, and declared the abolition of such distinctions to be the great work of the present hour. He wished that members of exclusively colored Churches would abandon those Churches, and demand their right of union with others, until it shall be granted them. He saw no reason, either, for the existence of regiments of colored men exclusively. Why should men be separated from each other in any useful association by the accident of color?

The evening meeting was a very large and enthusiastic one. The spacious platform was nearly covered with the children of the colored Sunday-schools, who came to add their singing to the attractions of the occasion. They gave us appropriate songs and choruses at intervals through the evening, singing with much skill, and showing careful and successful training on the part of their teachers. The occasion was felt to be a jubilee for the colored race.

The chief speeches of the evening, all excellent and admirable, were made by Hon. George Thompson, Rev. A. H. White, an able colored minister of Boston, William Lloyd Garrison, and Rev. Robert C. Waterston. It is to be hoped that provision was made for an adequate report of these speeches, which, with the interposed music, kept the audience until nearly 11 oclock. The address of Mr. Thompson was very powerful and impressive, calling up the recollections of the past in contrast with the vast instalments of success now attained, and exhibiting the fervor, and to some extent the vigor, of his old days of Anti-Slavery labor. He paid his tribute of affectionate respect to the labors of Mr. Garrison, recalling the first interview with him thirty-two years ago in the streets of London, and congratulating him on the amount of success which it had been given him to witness. The voice of the present orisis to the American nation he thought was—Make your work thorough; beware of the suggestions of a timid expediency; see that those whom you have wronged attain now the full enjoyment of the rights and privileges of which they have been deprived; let the negro have not only freedom but citizenship; why should ignorance bar him from the franchise, while it is given to foreigners equally ignorant, immediately on their arrival in the country?

Mr. White's idea was that, however much conquests in the field might gain for us, there was one important point which they could not settle, namely, the future position of the negro in American society. If, said he, you give us simple abolition of slavery without the natural rights of freedom, you stop far short of justice. We need the franchise as a matter of justice, and also as a means of defence. The nation needs the same measure for her own security.

Mr. Garrison, referring to some criticisms which had been made in the afternoon upon certain Generals in the army, remarked upon the fact that, whatever the ideas or wishes of those men might be about slavery, their actual work is fast exterminating slavery. Practically (he said) Grant is an Abolitionist. Sherman is an Abolitionist; the 20,000 negroes whom he has "gathered up" in Georgia, however unceremoniously named in his dispatches, are gathered up for deliverance from chattelism. Sheridan is an Abolitionist. The Baltimore platform was an Abolitionist platform. And the President, in his Message, has endorsed the whole subject of emancipation afresh, and in the most emphatic language.

The fervently uttered speech of Mr. Waterston was necessarily short, on account of the lateness of the hour. He especially rejoiced in the good conduct of the freedmen, and of the colored people generally, in the trying crisis which has come upon them. They have proved not only their manhood but their heroism, and this demeanor has added to their claim for justice and kindness on our part. We should *hasten* to bestow this justice and kindness upon them. I grudge (said Mr. Waterston), I grudge Jeff. Davis the opportunity of giving the slaves not only liberty, but "a home."

The last speaker of the evening, Robert Morris, Esq., of Chelsea, found very little time left for him. He spoke in an impassioned manner of the necessity of vigilance and vigor in claiming full and ample justice for the colored people, both now and after the war shall have ended. And he expressed his high satisfaction in having seen that day for the first time a colored military company under the command of colored officers.

The whole celebration went off very pleasantly, and to the high satisfaction of the audience. NORTH.

Our Washington Correspondence.

WASHINGTON, Jan. 1, 1865.

THE Florida prisoners are given up, and Mr. Seward's apology to Brazil is in all the papers. A month ago I ventured to state that they would be given up, and was rebuked by some zealous hater of the rebels, and the fact that the Florida's men were taken to Fort Warren looked a little as if they were to be retained by this government. My information came from a high source, and as it comported with common sense I felt certain that it was reliable. There was no other course to be pursued with honor or safety to the government. The letter of Mr. Seward to the acting British Minister here gives much satisfaction, and those persons who have a deep distrust of the Secretary of State admit that the entire correspondence redounds to his credit.

The history of this affair shows that it is always wise to wait for "the sober second thought" before deciding upon a matter of importance. When the news first came of the capture of the Florida, the feeling of the country was entirely against its surrender, but now the decision of the government will be approved by two-thirds of the people.

The excitement in reference to the Canadian affair has died away. The government is convinced that the Canadian authorities are disposed to do everthing in their power to frustrate any schemes of the rebels to organize raids along the border. It is believed here that there will be no trouble with England on the score of Canadian raids. As for France, the House of Representatives last Winter expressed its opinions on the famous "Monroe Doctrine," and it will allow the subject to sleep, as the Senate refused to take up and pass its resolution. It is worth nothing but as an expression of opinion. It possesses no legislative character. The Senate is too prudent to add to our complications by the passage of a resolution calculated to give offence to the French government.

The friends of Montgomery Blair are demanding something for him. They say that with great generosity he retired from the Cabinet to relieve the President from embarrassment, and that it is now time, the election being passed, to give him some fresh token of the Presidential confidence. But Mr. Lincoln is very slow in giving it, as he was in removing Mr. Blair from office in compliance with the demand of the Baltimore Convention. It is doubtful whether the Senate would confirm Mr. Blair for a very important position. Doubtless it would consent to his leaving the country on a foreign mission. Yet Mr. Blair has swung round to a very respectable anti-slavery position, and, since Jeff. Davis has announced his purpose to give homes to his colored soldiers, Mr. Blair is willing that *our* colored soldiers should remain, for a time at least, in the country they have helped to save.

The rebel leaders intend to organize a negro army if it is not too late, and one of the first things they will do will be to offer every negro soldier *a home and soil* where he was born. Blair had the cruelty to propose that we first use the colored man, and that afterwards we should crowd him out of the country! When the war is over, this proposition of Montgomery Blair will be remembered, and the day will come when he and his descendants will be glad to deny that he ever made the speeches which have given him the reputation of being among the meanest of the enemies of the colored race.

There has been an abundance of good news within the last two weeks, so that the "fizzle" (I use Mr. Lincoln's word) at Wilmington has no effect upon the spirits of the people. Wilmington will fall in due time—when Sherman gets ready to occupy North Carolina. There are stories of a serious disagreement between Admiral Porter and Gen. Butler in reference to the expedition, and it is even alleged that there has been a Cabinet quarrel upon the subject. It is not worth while to inquire whether these rumors have any foundation or not. If they are true, it matters little.

Mr. Ashley is marshalling his forces for the vote on the Constitutional Amendment, which is to be taken Jan. 9th. He has been here daring the holidays preparing for the battle, and deserves success. The Presidential influence is given very strongly in favor of the Joint Resolution, but it is not supposed that it will have much effect upon Opposition members. There are some of them, however, who have not been backward in asking favors of the President and the Heads of the Departments. If they now desire to please the men who have trested them generously, let them at least go so far as to be absent from the House when the vote is taken. It is evident that Mr. Ashley has strong hopes of success, but the President has not, and is preparing to call an extra session, it is said.

The speculations in the New York *Herald* in reference to the programme for the reorganization of the rebel States as territory are *mere* speculations. No compromise, as hinted at in that journal, has been agreed upon. It is probable, however, that before the adjournment a plan will be agreed upon by which recovered rebel States may be governed by some other than the military power. It is time that Tennessee and Louisiana should be governed by the civil power, either as States or Territories. The question is thrust upon Congress by the presence of Senators and Representatives from Louisiana. It must soon be decided, and it would not be strange if it were to be decided differently by the two branches of Congress—the House admitting the Representatives and the Senate refusing to admit the Senators. The Judiciary Committee has charge of the subject in the Senate—the Committee of Elections in the House.

Just as I close this letter I hear that Gen. Butler, in his report, fully justifies his withdrawal of his troops from Fort Fisher, and that the War Department is fully satisfied with his conduct. That there was a sad want of coöperation between the army and the fleet is evident.

The colored people here celebrated the anniversary of the issuance of the Emancipation proclamation yesterday in several of their churches. Dr. Channing preached a sermon worthy of himself and the day in his church. Several of our Washington clergymen preached Union sermons, and a few were not afraid to rejoice openly over the doom of slavery. A large majority, however, did not care to touch the subject, and a very considerable minority were silent upon the subject of the war. AVON.

THE HOME JOURNAL.—This long-established weekly, so well adapted in its character and tastes to the enjoyment of the family circle, will enter its nineteenth year on the 1st of January. Since the death of Gen. Morris, Mr. Willis has been its chief editor, and, under his efficient management, we may safely presume that it will still retain the place it has so long held in first-class literary and social circles. Although Mr. Willis has been compelled, by ill health, to leave the city, where for two years past he has chiefly resided, he still furnishes his full proportion of editorial matter for the paper. Mr. Morris Phillips, his partner, has charge of the foreign gossip, art, dramatic and book criticisms, and attends to the business department of the paper. He has been many years connected with the *Home Journal*, and ably manages those parts of it which are under his supervision. The number of contributors to the *Home Journal* is quite large, and many of them are among our best known and most popular writers.—*Evening Post, Dec.* 27, 1864.

THE THIRTY-FIRST
NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY.

THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY was organized for the immediate and total abolition of slavery in the United States. Its labors have been unremittedly prosecuted, "without compromise and without concealment," for a period of thirty years, through lecturing agencies, the printing and circulating of anti-slavery publications, the support of an official weekly organ, and other instrumentalities; and to these labors is largely due, primarily, that cheering and marvellous change in public sentiment, in opposition to slavery and in support of free institutions, which has taken place in all the loyal States, and which enables the government to maintain successfully its tremendous conflict with the Southern SLAVEHOLDERS' REBELLION. But slavery is not yet abolished, even in the Rebel States, except by the proclamation of President Lincoln; and it still holds a tenacious existence even in some of the so-called loyal sections of the country. Not until its utter extirpation everywhere should the American Anti-Slavery Society be disbanded, or regard its mission as consummated, or be left without the necessary pecuniary aid to carry on its ordinary operations. Its time to dissolve will be when liberty is proclaimed throughout all the land to all the inhabitants thereof, by the proposed amendment of the Constitution of the United States, making it illegal to enslave any person on the American soil. That grand and glorious event, it is confidently hoped and believed, will take place during the coming year, inasmuch as the potential sentiment of the people in regard to it was indicated by an overwhelming majority at the late Presidential election, and inasmuch as President Lincoln, in his annual message to Congress, urges this constitutional amendment upon that body for speedy adoption. Thank God that the year 1865 is, in all probability, to be the long desired YEAR OF JUBILEE!

Once more, then—and we trust for the last time—let the treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society be replenished by the generous donations and contributions of those who have so long given it their countenance; and also of those who, regenerated in their views and feelings on the question of slavery, have yet to show their appreciation of the invaluable labors of the Society in disseminating light and knowledge, quickening conscience, elevating the moral standard of individual and national conduct, and vindicating the rights of human nature on the broad platform of universal freedom and equality. From all loyal men and women the Society is especially deserving of consideration and coöperative support for its prompt and uncompromising hostility to the rebellion, and to whatever at the North has been in sympathy with the rebels; and for the strong moral support and hearty sympathy it has given to the government in its long and bloody conflict with the Slave Power.

The Managers of the SUBSCRIPTION ANNIVERSARY hereby announce that they will be ready to receive, with all thankfullness, whate ver the philanthropic, the liberal-minded, and the patriotic, throughout the land, at home or abroad, may feel disposed to contribute, at its annual gathering at Boston, on WEDNESDAY evening, January 25th, 1865; and to this convocation of the friends of impartial liberty they cordially invite all who desire to aid in breaking every yoke, and setting every captive free. And may the result abundantly meet the necessities of an association, whose crown of glory is its unswerving fidelity, through years of conflict and martyrdom, to the "self-evident truths" enunciated in the Declaration of American Independence!

Where personal attendance is impracticable or inconvenient, donations may be sent to either of the undersigned, or to WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, Esq., 8 Railroad Exchange, Boston, Treasurer of the American Anti-Slavery Society. All such will be duly acknowledged and faithfully expended.

L. Maria Child,
Mary May,
Louisa Loring,
Henrietta Sargent,
Helen Eliza Garrison,
Sarah Shaw Russell,
Sarah Russell May,
Anna Shaw Greene,
Sarah Blake Shaw,
Caroline C. Thayer,
Lydia D. Parker,
Caroline R. Putnam,
Mattie Griffith,
Mary Jackson,
Evelina A. Smith,
Sarah Bradford,
Caroline M. Severance,
Elizabeth Gay,
Mary Wiley,
Ann Rebecca Bramhall,
Sarah J. Nowell,
Elizabeth von Arnim,
Abby H. Stephenson,
Eliza Apthorp,
Sarah Cowing,
Sarah H. Southwick,
Mary Elizabeth Sargent,
Sarah C. Atkinson,
Abby Francis,
Georgina Otis,
Katharine Earle Farnum,
Rebecca Bradford,
Ellen Wright Garrison.

OBITUARY.

ON Sunday afternoon last, we followed to the grave, with feelings of the deepest reverence, the lifeless tenement from which the soul of ISAAC AUSTIN had departed, to dwell in those mansions of the blest where those who strive on earth to do their Master's will are assured that they will find a home of eternal peace. The death of a man like him requires more than a passing notice.

In an intellectual point of view, Mr. Austin was far above mediocrity. He possessed a mind of great vigor; his memory was remarkably retentive; his reading was of the choicest character, and he well digested the thoughts of his favorite authors. Keenly regretting that he had not in early life enjoyed the advantages of a scholastic training, he was an ardent, an enthusiastic advocate of our common school system, and was ever ready, by night or by day, to labor that the rising generation might enjoy the blessings which he had never known. For many years he served with singular fidelity as one of the School Committee of this town—a part of the time as Chairman—and the high stand which our schools have so long held is due largely to his early and persistent efforts. In public and private he put himself forward as their champion, and when they furnished the theme, neither his tongue nor his pen was ever weary.

But, exalted as was his character in this regard, it is when we look at it in another view, that we particularly revere his memory. He was a friend of humanity. The poor, the despised, the oppressed, were ever welcome at his home and his heart. His was no formal sympathy; it was the outgushing of a noble nature which could not brook oppression or wrong; and the stand which he took as an Abolitionist when to be such was to subject one's self to contumely and abuse, was characteristic of him. He was glad of the approval of his fellow-citizens, but if they opposed and reviled him, he was still content. With God on his side, he felt that he was strong. Of a genial, warm-hearted nature, he never knew a revengeful feeling; and when, in the ardor of debate, an opponent might use abusive language, a pleasant smile and a few simple words would be his usual retort.

The warmest sympathy of our many friends is felt for the aged partner of his life. For forty-eight years they had lived together with a beautiful and touching affection. May she who is left to grieve find consolation in the thought that he whose loss she mourns has left behind him the record of a life, whose purity the best of earth may covet!—*Nantucket (Mass.) Inquirer.*

THE PHRENOLOGICAL JOURNAL is a periodical that we can heartily commend to those who are seeking information upon the class of subjects to which its pages are devoted, viz: Physiology, Phrenology, Physiognomy and Psychology. It is conducted with care and diligence, and in the course of a single year will be found to contain a body of information of great value not only to students but to ordinary readers. Every number contains a portrait of some eminent person, with a phrenological and biographical sketch of his character and life. The numbers for a year make quite a respectable quarto of between 300 and 400 pages.

Chronicles of the War.

Latest News in Brief.

The attack upon Wilmington has proved a failure. Porter's fleet commenced an assault upon Fort Fisher, the great outlying defence of the place, Dec. 24. The defenders of the fort were speedily driven to find shelter in their bomb-proofs. In one hour and fifteen minutes after the first shot was fired (says Admiral Porter's report) not a shot was fired from the fort; two of its magazines had been blown up by our shells; and the wooden buildings within the walls fired in several places. The next day the bombardment was resumed, slowly, to cover the landing of Butler's troops, whose transports had all come up during the night. The landing was effected at 2 p.m., three thousand men having been put on shore by the boats of the fleet; and the fort was reconnoitred. One gallant officer went on the parapet and brought away the rebel flag, which had been brought down by the fire of the fleet. A soldier went into the works and led out a horse, killing the orderly mounted on him and taking his dispatches from the body. At 5 p.m. on the same day, however, the troops were reëmbarked, for reasons set forth in a letter addressed by Gen. Butler to Admiral Porter, and dated Dec. 25. Briefly, these reasons were as follows: That the fort could not be carried by assault; that it was left substantially uninjured as a defensive work by the navy fire; and that it mounted seventeen guns, protected by traverses, two only of which were dismounted, bearing up the beach and covering a strip of land—the only practicable route, not wide enough for a thousand men in line of battle. The coöperative movement having thus failed, Gen. Butler sailed away for Hampton Roads with the land forces. The fleet is now anchored in the harbor of Beaufort.

Gen. Gordon Granger's expedition left East Pensacola, Fla., Dec. 15, and proceeded in the direction of Mobile, meeting and defeating the rebels at the crossing of a stream called Franklin's Creek. This point is thirty miles from Mobile, and Granger was still marching toward that city at the latest dates.

Gen. Sherman has followed up the occupation of Savannah by sending a force of cavalry, artillery, and infantry upon an expedition, whose destination can only be guessed at from the direction in which it has moved. These troops are reported to be moving to Southwestern Georgia, in quest of the prisoners of war who were lately at Andersonville.

The remnant of Hood's army is supposed to have crossed the Tennessee. The rebel ammunition train of Cheatham's division was abandoned in the flight and captured. Hood has lost eighteen general officers, sixty-eight pieces of artillery, and nearly twenty thousand men, since he sat down before Nashville.

Our cavalry, under Stoneman and Burbridge, have really destroyed the valuable salt works of the rebels at Saltville, as was previously reported, and have inflicted other serious damage upon Southwestern Virginia.

The Army and the Negroes.

"EVERYWHERE THE AMERICAN GENERAL RECEIVES HIS MOST USEFUL AND RELIABLE INFORMATION FROM THE NEGRO, who hails his coming as the harbinger of Freedom."—Wm. H. Seward's Official Dispatch to Mr. Adams.

COLORED GUARD.

The St. Louis *Democrat* says that two companies of colored soldiers have been raised for guard duty in that city, and will go on duty in a day or two.

THE NEW COLORED CORPS.

Correspondence of the Springfield Republican.

A colored corps in the armies operating against Richmond is something which one year ago we never expected to see; and which at the commencement of the war was not thought of. Yet to-day, one of the largest corps in the United States is the colored 25th, commanded by Maj.-Gen. Godfrey Weitzel. In the Department of the Gulf the Corps d'Afrique was organized some time ago, but never until now has a full corps been organized wholly of black troops in the armies of Virginia. This new organization comprises the 3d Division of the old 10th Corps, the 3d Division of the old 18th Corps and the colored troops of the 9th Corps consolidated into one large body of not less than 25,000 men. It has been said that black troops should not be trusted alone; they should be supported by veteran whites, but this has been proven a fallacy. Wherever the blacks have failed, it has been either because inefficient officers have been placed in command, or because, to try them, they have been pushed forward green, without drill and without discipline. Give the same experience, the same drill, and they will meet any troops in the world. It is universally acknowledged by every officer in the army that they will attain a far better state of discipline—make far better drilled soldiers, with the same attention, than any white troops we can raise. They are more subservient, more faithful, and more obedient than the whites from their nature, and their fighting qualities, when well officered, have been established beyond a doubt. When such officers as Maj.-Gen. Godfrey Weitzel espouse their cause, as it were, surely we may think that they can be made soldiers. I, for one, am proud to say that I belong to the 25th Army Corps, highest among the corps numbers, and I trust that we may not be reckoned among the lowest as regards our general soldierly qualities.

SHERMAN AND THE NEGROES.

Correspondence of the Evening Post.

SAVANNAH, Dec. 23.

Now that I am writing about Gen. Sherman, I will tell you of certain incidents which prove the great human heart he has. All along our march he has never lost an opportunity of talking with and advising the negroes who came to our camp, and it was beautiful to hear him explain to them at length their actual position. Since he has been here (occupying, by the way, the splendid mansion of Mr. Green, a British resident) he has held open levees to all who choose to come, white and black, shaking the hand always of the latter as warmly as of the former, and with infinitely more respect, I honestly believe.

The negroes all tell him that the lies of the rebel papers never deceived them, and that they believed that his "retreats" were victories; that they would serve the Union cause in any and all ways that they could, as soldiers, as drivers, or pioneers. Indeed, the faith, earnestness and heroism of the black man is one of the grandest developments of this war. When I think of the universal testimony of our escaped soldiers who enter our lines every day, that in the hundreds of miles which they traverse on their way they never ask the poor slave for help and are refused; that the poorest negro hides and shelters, and shares the last crumb with him—aside from other considerations—the thought of this impresses me with a weight of obligation, and a love for them, that stirs the very depths of my soul.

The Washington correspondent of the N. Y. *Tribune* says:

"The disposition to blame Gen. Sherman for not organizing an army of blacks on his great march through the heart of slavery is unjust. Before he started on this expedition, he earnestly demanded of the War Department that Col. S. Bowman, who raked the residue of Maryland slavery into the U. S. Army, be sent to him to organize the negroes who should flock to his columns into regiments and brigades. This request, most unfortunately for the nation, was either neglected or refused. Sherman had to march without the man, the most experienced in the United States in this business, and whom only he wanted."

ADVENTURES OF AN ESCAPED PRISONER.

Lieut.-Col. Thomas J. Leigh of the 71st New York gives an account, in the New York *Times*, of his own escape and that of Lieut. Tincker of Indiana from the prison-stockade at Columbia, S. C., and of the aid they received from the slaves in the perilous voyage thence to Knoxville. He says:

"We travelled two nights and got within three miles of Lexington, where we met a couple of negroes and asked them the direction to Ninety-six Station. They pointed out to us our road, and added that they were our friends, and when we wanted assistance we must crawl up to the fields about dusk, and wait for a field hand to come along; that they would furnish us with provisions, and never betray us. On the fifth night of our journey we were making northwest for Knoxville, Tenn. On the evening of the sixth day we ventured cautiously to a plantation, where we saw a large number of hogs in a field, running toward us as though they expected to be fed, and we judged from this that a negro would soon come and feed them. As we were right in our conjecture, for in a few moments a negro came along with a basket on his head, with corn for the hogs. I called to him, and as he came up to me I asked him if he would betray me. He said 'no, the negroes in that part of the country did not do that sort of thing.' He said, 'you must be hungry?' I told him that was what I hailed him for. He said, 'you wait about an hour, and I'll have lots to eat.' He then started for the house, and in about an hour came back along with several other negroes, all carrying eatables—chicken, possum, rice and shortcake—sufficient to last two days' journey. It commencing to rain, they advised us to lay still that night, and it would clear up before morning. We took their advice, and the negroes kept us company all night, and were very inquisitive about the state of affairs. They asked us if we thought Jeff. Davis was going to arm the negroes. They said their masters had made propositions to them, that if they would take up arms and fight for the South, they would get their freedom. I asked them if they would fight against the North. They replied, 'only let them give us arms, and we will show them who we will fight for.' They said, 'we have now some arms hid,' and they wanted to know if when they were formed into companies and regiments they could be together and talk together. I told them certainly. One negro remarked, 'my master offers me my freedom if I will take up arms, but I have a wife and five children, *and he does not offer them their freedom*, and we have come to the conclusion that there is no use fighting for our masters and our freedom when any children we may have are to be made slaves, and we have thought when we get arms and are allowed to be together in regiments, we can demand freedom for our wives and children, and take it.' Another negro remarked that their masters did not dare to whip them now; that they were fed a little better than before the war, but they believed this was only to humor them and keep them still. We departed the next morning, wishing the negroes 'good luck,' and they replying 'God bless you,' which is a very common expression in that part of the country. We pursued our journey without anything remarkable happening until we arrived in Pickens District, S. C., on the plantation of Dr. Earl, a notorious secessionist. Here we fell upon a large number of negroes of his plantation and others, discussing the arrival of Sherman at Augusta, Ga. It appears that they had secretly sent one of their number as a courier toward Hamburg, to get news about Sherman, intending on the arrival of the courier to make a general stampede into our lines. They counted on between 5,000 and 8,000 negroes who would go with them. These men treated us very nicely and gave us a large supply of provisions. They told us to stop at the house of John W. Wilson, a strong Union man. The next evening, at 9½ p.m., I knocked at Wilson's door. He came out with a revolver in his hand and demanded to know who we were. We told him that we were escaped Union officers. He invited us into his house and treated us very kindly. He informed us of the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln, and as we were about leaving him, went with us to the middle of the road, where we all gave three cheers for Old Abe. Being properly directed on our course, we reached Bumcomb County, in Western North Carolina. Here we saw a woman in the field plowing. She informed us that in that county, Henderson and Madison Counties, there were over 500 men who had been conscripted, her husband among the number, who refusing to join the rebel army, lay hid in caves in the woods. The country is scoured by rebel details, who plunder the women and children, and shoot the men if found in the woods. In travelling over a district of 130 miles, across the mountains, a scene of the greatest destitution prevailed; women do the duties of men; the children have no shoes, and the country seemed to be given up to entire lawlessness. The remainder of our journey was performed solely under the guidance of women, and on the evening of the 13th of December we reached Knoxville, Tenn., having spent forty-four days in our perilous travels."

MASSACHUSETTS PATRIOTISM.—It is officially announced that only eight hundred and five men are required of Massachusetts under the President's last call for three hundred thousand men. In two districts, the Eighth and Ninth, the quotas are deficient by this number. Every other district in the State is out of the draft. The record of Massachusetts is always good.

Summary.

It is in contemplation to establish an anti-slavery newspaper in the city of Baltimore.

Army tobacco is badly adulterated. About one-third of it is sumac, which costs only $60 a ton. The effects of the adulteration are to produce ulcers that not unfrequently terminate in cancers. Another argument for Father Trask.

A young lady was heard to declare that she couldn't go to fight for the country, but she was willing to allow the young men to do so, and die an old maid, which she thought was as great a sacrifice as anybody could be called upon to make.

A dealer in old books in London occasions a good deal of amusement to those who inspect his stock by the curious labels which he attaches to different works. What, for instance, would Dr. Johnson say to the following: "Lundun, and how to see hit"; and another labelled "Leives of they Poayts—price 'arf a crown."

FIFTY POUNDS is the paltry fine inflicted by the British Court upon the parties guilty of furnishing and fitting out the pirate Georgia to prey upon American commerce. There was no doubt whatever of the agency of the firm in the crime with which they were charged.

DESPERATE CONDITION OF THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.—It appears by the *Edinburgh Gazette* of last night that the new Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland has appointed one dean, one sub-dean, one right hon. and very rev., one hon. and very rev., fifteen very revs., four venerables, and eighteen reverends—in all forty-one clergymen—to be his chaplains. Into what a fearful state of sin and misery Lord Wodehouse must have fallen when he needs all these spiritual assistants, and what a desperate condition the world would be in, especially with the present dearth of ministers, were every other nobleman in Britain to require even half so many!—*Caledonian Mercury.*

LOUISVILLE JOURNAL EMANCIPATED.—The old Louisville *Journal* went sadly astray some time before the Presidential election, and became one of the most zealous pro-slavery McClellan organs of Kentucky. It is now "redeemed, regenerated, and disenthralled." The *Journal* of the 7th says: "We have dissolved our alliance with the Democratic party, for it was never intended that we should merge ourselves into the ranks of our life-long opponents. We can yield to the President our most earnest exertions to carry on this war; *we can accommodate our State to the destiny which waits the institution of slavery.*"

A WISE UNDERTAKING.—Certain liberal gentlemen of Boston have conceived the idea of supplying every clergyman, editor, bookseller, post-master, and legislator in the land with that heart-rending account of the sufferings of our Union prisoners at the South, which we commented upon a few weeks ago. The Loyal League in Philadelphia orders at once 5,000 copies for their State, the Loyal Publication Society of New York 1,000, etc., etc. It is intended to distribute the document largely in England also, with the certainty of effecting a vast revolution of sentiment against the South. At home, it will serve to deepen our abhorrence of the rebellion, and to strengthen the national determination to destroy slavery with the sword and with the Constitutional Amendment. All contributions to the fund needed to pay for 50,000 copies will be acknowledged by mail and in a list of "peacemakers," to be printed in *Littell's Living Age*. Send to Hon. Amos A. Lawrence, Boston; to Morris Ketchum, Esq., New York; to the Union League, Philadelphia; or to the publishers, Littell, Son & Co., Boston.

WHAT THE SPANISH DEMOCRATS SAY OF MR. LINCOLN.—Our democracy ought to be instructed by the opinions of liberal and progressive men abroad. The democracy of Europe, with whom our democrats should be in sympathy, rejoice in Abraham Lincoln's re-election. Says *La Democracia*, the organ of the Spanish democrats at Madrid on the re-election of Mr. Lincoln: "The United States have given torrents of blood, mountains of treasure; and in order to show to the world that they are not weary, that they do not repent, re-elect the man who personifies this glorious war, at whose conclusion stands the emancipation of the slave—liberty—the fact most sublime and transcendent of all history, the honor of modern civilization. Let us rejoice, then—rejoice the people everywhere! The greatest of the republics gives the example most sublime which history records—breaks the chains of the slaves. Eternal praise to the republic of the United States!"

THE PEABODY FUND IN LONDON.—About one-third of the sum of the £150,000 munificently given by Mr. George Peabody to the poor of London has already been invested in buildings and land. The trustees, in addition to eligible sites purchased at Shadwell and Bermondsey, now possess a plot of ground near the upper steamboat pier at Chelsea—which will probably be resold, as not sufficiently spacious for their purposes—four blocks of buildings, rapidly approaching completion, in Green Man's Lane, Islington, and a stately edifice, containing fifty-seven tenements all occupied and nine shops in Commercial street, Spitalfields. The original £150,000 will, it has been estimated, build ten large houses, the income from which will amount to £6,000 per annum; and it is not the least interesting fact connected with Mr. Peabody's noble gift, that from this source alone the trustees will probably be able to build a new house every two years, and by investing its rental in a like way make the charity a constantly increasing one.

A NOVEL "DEAD-HEAD."—On Conductor Kincarde's train, on the New York Central last night, a lady with a vast circumference of hoop occupied a whole seat as the cars went out of the city. Taking up tickets the conductor evidently suspected something when he came to this lady, and politely requested her to rise, as he thought she was sitting on something which had been left on the seat. She demurred, and be insisted. She said she wouldn't, and he said she must, and finally she did, and not only that, but she stepped out into the aisle, blushing tremendously, and insisting that she "didn't know it," when, lo and behold! a bouncing babe of the male persuasion, only sixteen years old, was discovered curled up on the floor! How the delightful creature had got there was a mystery to her, of course—as much so as was the presence, to Joseph, of a chicken in Joseph's hat. The lady was about to anathematize the young gentleman in the most approved manner of injured virtue, but he took the words out of her mouth by pleading piteously, "Please now, Auntie, pay my fare." Auntie did.—*Schenectady Star.*

A SAD SCENE.—*Annapolis, Md., Dec.* 20.—To-day will be witnessed a scene here, sad enough to touch the sympathies of the most hardened rebel in the country, and convince him of the cruel and barbarous treatment which the Union prisoners receive at the hands of the chivalry of the South. No less than 70 victims of their barbarity are to be borne to their last resting place, and 70 more horrid looking corpses never were seen by human eye. To such a state had they been reduced by starvation and exposure in open stockades, that their remains resemble Egyptian mummies, and can be kept any length of time, there being nothing to decompose but the frame, and a cadaverous skin slightly drawn over it; and I regret to say that there are many more who will soon follow them, for all the hospitals are filled to their utmost capacity with similar cases. The officers of the Northern Light state that such was the anxiety of our men to get out of the hands of their jailors, that many would walk until death would strike them down, their last look being given to the old flag, under whose folds they hoped soon to be.—*Cor. Balt. American.*

THE YO-SEMITE SCENERY SURPASSED.—Prof. Whitney's party of geological explorers in California have found, during the past season, even more wonderful regions for mountain and rock scenery than the famous Yo-Semite, and a grove of bigger trees than those of Calavares, which have heretofore been the pride of California for natural wonders and curiosities, and the great object of interest to all travelers to the Pacific states. These newest, rarest wonders lie farther south in Tulare County; they include mountains 15,000 feet high, the highest in the limits of the whole United States territory, and higher than the king of the Alps, Mont Blanc; also perpendicular walls of rock 7,000 feet high, or twice as high as those that give such grandeur and fame to the Yo-Semite valley; and a grove of big trees—bigger than those into whose hollow trunks three horsemen ride abreast, and on whose stumps the Californians hold mass meetings—which is 25 miles in extent. These new discoveries are in the valley of the Ken river; and they will give new zest to the hunger for the opening up of the Pacific railway, or the death of Vanderbilt, whose cupidity makes the isthmus journey to California an abomination at present.

"THE RECONSTRUCTION OF STATES" is the title of an able letter written by Maj.-Gen. Banks to Senator Lane of Kansas, respecting the admission of Louisiana into the family of States. The letter exhaustively discusses the nature of the new Constitution adopted by Louisiana, and the circumstances under which it was framed and ratified by the people. Some of its most important provisions are thus defined by Gen. Banks:

Instantaneous, universal, uncompensated, unconditional emancipation of slaves!

It prohibited forever the recognition of property in man!

It decreed the education of all children, without distinction of race or color!

It directs all men, white or black, to be enrolled as soldiers for the public defence.

It makes all men equal before the law!

It compels, by its regenerating spirit, the ultimate recognition of all the rights which National authority can confer upon an oppressed race!

It wisely recognizes for the first time in constitutional history the interest of daily labor as an element of power entitled to the protection of the State!

It authorizes the Legislature to extend the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States without distinction of color, in consideration of military service, payment of taxes, or intellectual fitness therefor!

It has been ratified by the People!

"Such is the Free Constitution and government of Louisiana!"

A QUAKER

Miscellaneous Department.

BARBARISM.

Written after reading the Report of the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the United States Sanitary Commission, 1864.

O SICKENING record! most pathetic page
That fills the blood-stained volume of our years!
E'en Love itself is fired with holy rage
By scenes that bathe a Nation's heart in tears.

Reading, what woeful visions fill my eyes
Of loathsome prisons crammed with starving men,
And baleful swamps, where, 'neath the open skies,
The brave, like beasts, are herded in their pen!

I see their crouching forms, their vacant stare,
The hopeless look of eyes that cannot weep,
The wan, pinched faces, that were once so fair,
Of heroes gnawing their soul rags in sleep.

I see their bony fingers spread in vain
For one sweet morsel—spread in vain to take
The dear home letter—or to still retain
The trinkets sacred for love's tender sake.

I hear the keeper's oath—the idiot wail,
Breathing the key-note of a voiceless woe—
The brutal scoffs that broken hearts assail,
The murderous shot that lays the captive low.

There, coiled in ditches through the wintry night,
To shield each other from the cold they strive,
Or racing fetid chambers pray for light,
Or prone on blistering sands creep just alive.

These are thy fruits, O thou barbaric curse!
This, Slavery, is the crown that decks thy brow;
This is the *Christian* spirit thou dost nurse—
These the *kind* deeds thy charities allow!

O dark the hour that saw thy shameful birth,
And dark and blighting all thy guilty reign!
Rouse, freemen! smite the monster from the earth,
And on the nation God shall smile again.

—*Harper's Weekly.*

THE LEASED PLANTATIONS NEAR NATCHEZ—ABUSE OF THE FREED NEGROES.

Correspondence of the Springfield Republican.

NATCHEZ, MISS., Nov. 3, 1864.

I PROMISED in my last some account of the condition of the blacks on the leased plantations. On the greater portion of them were the blacks who had been reared and owned by the owners of the land. On some five or six were refugee blacks, from various quarters, from the Red River country, from over in "Massissippi," from up in "Souri," or Tennessee, whence their masters had transferred them to these safer regions. The weekly rations given is four or four and one-half pounds of pork, a peck of meal and a pint of molasses to the full hand. Some two or three planters have given a pound or two of flour beside, some part of the season. Most of the places had pretty much the old stock of cooking utensils, so that the people have not lacked their accustomed facilities for cookery. This fare is not sumptuous. Nor has it been as good as the old custom on many of the better plantations. In the old times they had their chance for gardens and their supply of vegetables. The authorities intended for them the same facilities this season, but for some reason they have not had them. On the whole, their fare is, at any rate, not an improvement on former days. For quarters they have had the old-time negro quarters, but now dilapidated by three years wear and tear. The owners have not repaired them; the lessees have not repaired them; and so they have been going rapidly to the worse. So their shelter has not been as good as of old.

HOW THE BLACKS EKE OUT A SUBSISTENCE.

The rules under which hands were hired required that the employer should support all the dependents of his laborers, whether superannuated or young. By some misconstruction or other, probably a malformation of the lessee's moral character, this requirement has not been met on half the plantations. The old and the children have been fed from the rations of the laborers, who, in a multitude of cases, have been compelled to buy, and I am afraid they have not always been so far developed as to practice the white virtue of honesty. However, the example of that virtue, in the refusal to give rations to the dependents, was not particularly inspiring. Hagar of old apprehends that, if she gets hungry, she may steal. It is quite certain, then, that if she, and her children, and her old mammy had all been made hungry by the unkind dealing of a planter, she would have stolen a side of bacon if she could have gotten it by hook or by crook. This is the way they got it in one place. The meat cellar's windows were barred with iron, the door stout and well fastened, the meat barrels well in the middle of the large apartment—safe, surely! But Sambo must have the meat. So he gets a long pole, puts a spike through one end of it, pulls a barrel with the head out over, then with his hook drags the coveted side of pork to the bars, forces it through, and fulfills all the filial and parental duties of providing for his household, avoiding the charge of being worse than an infidel. A full barrel of pork has been known to make such queer exodus in a night, and, speaking most soberly, I have no doubt has caused more true thankfulness in a very considerable number of black households than did the quails God sent, in the whole camp of Israel; for good people must remember that these blacks, though "free," are not "enlightened." They have had no property, have been property, stolen property, all their days, and thought it no harm to appropriate what they could. They have little or no conscience in reference to rights of property. I do not at all question that some good old mammy, knowing how that pork was obtained, and approving the act, might eat her fill thereof, and die of it, and be borne by a true faith in Christ, that same night, to Abraham's bosom—to a better knowledge, and so a first revelation of the real sinfulness of the deed which had cost her her life.

Just so they have been herded like beasts together till not the half of them are clean black; compelled to herd, allowed no marriage, permitted no moral law of chastity, till they are well nigh utterly debauched. Well, sir, I believe that many a black man, whose name is written in the book of life, swaps wives for no valid reason, some whim or caprice, or incompatibility of temper, which would not warrant legal divorce even under the loose morals of Indiana law. It is hardly possible to put the matter more strongly than that, but I will stand to it. The simple truth is, that these poor blacks, out of whom centuries of the teaching of this very devil's school of slavery have rubbed such moral instincts as barbaric Africa instilled, can do and yet find heaven, a thousand things which would sink you and I to the deepest hell. It took long to teach me this, and so, for long, their fervid religion seemed but fanatical mockery, backed by no purity and integrity in life. God forgive me and help me to live as near the moral law I have been trained in, as they to the best standard of moral elevation they have been taught! I have learned to know that no race worships more sincerely, or with more rapt and fervid delight; that none trusts more devoutly, or walks more humbly with God. So I believe that none find straighter way to the gate of pearl, or better welcome within than some of these, whose lives it were not well for you or I to imitate.

The sick were to be fed and cared for. Yet on fully one-half of all the plantations visited, the ration was stopped against the sick man, with no substitution of rice, or tea, or flour, or sugar. Medicines have been furnished sparingly. Doctors have been mainly old black women, who sometimes do well enough, with their sturdy sense, and quick perceptions. This stoppage has been justified by the declaration, on the part of the planters, or rather the overseers, for I saw scarcely a planter on my whole round—they are thoroughly non-resident—on the ground that if you fed them when sick they would be sick all the time, and no work could be gotten out of them. This excuse is of no weight, for the provost-marshal was at hand, who, upon complaint, proven to be just, should take the refractory idler who was thus violating his contract and imposing on the man to whom he agreed to render faithful service, and set him at labor upon government work without wages. This excuse has been used as a cloak for most grievous injustice.

Wages are fixed at a minimum for full hands of ten and seven dollars per month for men and women respectively. This regulation has been abused and avoided thus: that minimum has been used as if it were the fixed rate of wages instead of a minimum. The black has looked upon it as such. Then the employers have in no case that I remember paid monthly wages. They have fixed upon twenty-six days' labor as entitling a man to his ten dollars. They have not required labor Saturday afternoons, and the black loses that half-day; they have not worked their hands in rainy weather, and the black loses that time; so that often the month's work is scarcely full in two months' time, even in the case of the most faithful workers. They have thus planned to elude most essentially the intent of the provision. Beyond this the fear of guerillas has stampeded the hands from the plantations a multitude of times, keeping them from work sometimes for successive weeks, during which time the people have lost both rations and wages. Who took the risks of these places voluntarily, the lessee, or the black laborer, who went to it (most likely) unwillingly and under compulsion? Let the men who, for the sake of a fortune, took all these risks, and subjected the blacks to them, now bear the losses which these risks have entailed, and not put them upon those who never had an interest or a voice in the system! In some cases the wages based on this estimate of time have not been paid with any regularity. On one or two farms no wages shall have been paid for this year's work.

Clothing was at first to be furnished the black by the planter. The order was rescinded—why, I have never been able to see, except that it was the planter's interest it should be—and the black compelled to clothe himself. The planters were to keep a supply of the needed clothing on hand, from which the blacks should be able to furnish themselves at but a small advance upon Northern prices. Most of them have done this. Some, however, failing to do it, have compelled their hands to purchase at exorbitant rates in Natchez. One or two of them have sold the goods themselves at double prices.

The regulations contemplated schools for the children, for which the lessees were to furnish facilities, including quarters, and board for teachers. Upon but two places has any regard been paid to the regulations in this point. Upon many of them, however, schools would have been impossible.

The general treatment of the people has been such as would be expected of men who wanted to make a crop by their labor, and who have no further interest concerning them. They have not been flogged, or submitted to the cruel punishments of slavery. For the rest I don't think there is very much to say. The man, however, who wants only a season's work from this people cannot be relied on to teach them the amenities of life, or the fundamental matters of virtue and religion. The plantations have not done great things for the blacks, at least in this district of Natchez.

However, for these glaring wrongs which have been spoken of a remedy is found. The lessees, in order to ship their cotton, have been compelled to file sworn lists of their hands, and give bonds for the fair settlement of accounts. Orders are issued by Col. Eaton to the provost-marshals, who hold the bonds, to compel the employers to commute the rations stopped against the old people and the children and the sick, in cash to those who have supplied these classes, to commute, also, the exorbitant rates of clothing, and to recast their accounts on the basis of the calendar month, deducting time only in case of sickness, paying wages by the month, and compelling them, also, to support and pay their hands up to the 31st of December, and to cancel the bonds only where all these things are done. The freedman may be thankful that the military authority comes to his rescue with a strong arm.

FAS.

NATCHEZ, MISS., Nov. 7, 1864.

These Natchez plantations again. For the blacks they have been only evil. For the government they have done nothing of perceptible advantage in the way of relieving it of the care of freedmen, since most of those where cultivation has been maintained through the season, have been tilled by the old laborers, who would have been cared for upon them without the interference of the government. They have paid but an insignificant sum of money to the treasury, and have cost a vast sum for their protection. They have furnished—these safe plantations—about a thousand mules and horses, to the rebels; transportation for ten of their infantry regiments, sufficient to mount a brigade of the troops Price took into Missouri, and how much money and plunder besides it is impossible to say. Then those eighty other plantations which were entirely broken up! Phwew!

This for the blacks and for the government. What for the lessee? Those few who by good fortune got inside the picket lines, good enough! A little queer, isn't it, that these are nearly all controlled by those who had the leasing interest in their own hands? The army worm, which has made their crop less than a fourth of the ordinary yield, looks to me much like the judgment of God. Still these inside men will make well. A fifth of a crop you know is at present rates a double crop. Judge Hart, treasury agent in the Spring and Summer, has for his fraudulent practices been stripped by the government of everything. Judge Burnett, who succeeded him, has been confined under guard for three months now. Judge Field, commissioner for leasing plantations last year, has been tried, convicted and sentenced to a fine of one hundred thousand dollars and two years in the Alton penitentiary for his fraudulent dealings in cotton. And these are the men who control nearly every safe plantation in the Natchez district! Had God and the military authorities let them alone, this firm would have been one of the richest, as it is doubtless the most corrupt in America.

These gentry have controlled the home farm also. Here were to be congregated all whom the planters would not hire. A magnificent place of 2,300 acres. The old and halt and blind and unserviceable people were to find asylum here, to work as they could toward their own support. These most philanthropic agents of the government proceeded at once to lease two-thirds of this place, really to themselves—put the people at work on the leased two-thirds; put the government stock furnished for the "home farm" upon the leased two-thirds; scatter the government tools to all the dozen plantations they work, and so run the home farm! Indeed, one of the charges against Burnett is that he sent $15,000 worth of government mules to Cincinnati at one time, and that the money was paid his wife there! Of course the "home farm" was not worked at all. However, it was made of service, for the infirm and unserviceable of their neighboring plantations were sent to it to draw their rations of the government! A delightful ring, this. But Gen. Braymen sent his foot upon them and they are not likely to come out with great plunder, and are sure to lose every vestige of reputation. So mote it be.

FAS.

CHRISTMAS AT THE STATE PRISON.

From the Boston Christian Register.

THE festival at the State Prison this year was one of unusual interest. It had been announced on Thanksgiving day that two of the most deserving men would be pardoned at Christmas. The inmates all gathered at noon in the chapel, and, as might naturally be expected, all were on tiptoe to learn who would be the favored ones. The Governor and a large number of visitors were present. After singing, Scripture-reading, prayer and remarks by the chaplain, the Hon. Gideon Haynes, the Warden of the prison, read a letter written by Isaac Leavitt, who had been pardoned a year ago, in which he gave an account of his success in the world since leaving the prison. His case was brought forward as an example to those who were now confined to begin the work of reform. He then spoke of the care the government took that justice be done to the criminal; that every provision was made and every inducement was offered to incite him to reformation. If a man, he continued, who has committed a great crime—a murder, for instance—his trial is delayed, and if he is convicted and sentenced to be hung his execution is delayed and an abundance of time allowed for his friends to present the case to the Governor. If his case is then commuted to imprisonment for life, he has an opportunity by superior conduct, and continuous good behavior in every respect, to win the admiration of the officers of the prison. Such a man, he said, had been found among them, and that man was Milton W. Streeter. This announcement caused an indescribable emotion among the prisoners, and the eyes of all were turned upon the fortunate man. Streeter was convicted of murdering his wife in Worcester, and was sentenced to be hung, which sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life; and now, after serving fifteen years, his exemplary conduct in every particular has secured his freedom. Mr. Haynes then stated that the Governor had allowed two pardons, and the other would fall upon Adolph Dessordly, the announcement of which caused another thrill of emotion among the prisoners, and the fortunate man was at once the observed of all. The Warden said that he had been sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment, three of which had been passed, and the crime was one which, in his mind, should have never been regarded as more than petty larceny. He came to this country a stranger and without friends; was unable to speak or understand the English language, and failing to obtain work, he committed a robbery, the result of which is known by his presence here. In concluding his remarks Mr. Haynes said that some might think they had made a mistake in the award of these pardons, and that many would have felt better pleased if the Executive clemency had come nearer home, but he knew they would, nevertheless, all rejoice over the good fortune of their fellow-prisoners, and wish them a merry Christmas. The approbation of the men at the result was manifested by hearty cheering at the conclusion of the address.

Gov. Andrew then addressed the prisoners. He introduced his remarks by saying he had not come simply in his official capacity, but as a man, to witness the effects of this act of grace. He next expressed his conviction that they would be satisfied with the decision, and then alluded to the administration of justice in the State, and said that it is so sifted that there is but a very small percentage of error. As a magistrate and as a citizen, he desired that the people should feel that there is but very little error in the doings of the courts, and yet necessarily some, and it is the aim of the magistrates to rectify these errors. He hoped that exertions to administer justice, not without certain severe sternness, and yet modified by human tenderness, might not be without their usefulness and effect upon the hearts and minds of the prisoners, and upon all thoughtful men in the community. He hoped the prisoners would feel a sense of gratitude that an act of kindness had been done to their fellows, and hoped that in the selection of the men no mistake had been made. He hoped that all the experiences of life, whether of satisfaction or sorrow, would conspire to work within them all the peaceable fruits of good living, so that some day or other, when they shall all stand in the bright sunlight of eternity, they shall find that the good and ill, and the joy and suffering of this mortal state shall have helped them on to enjoy the fullest fruition of promised happiness. At the conclusion of the Governor's remarks the prisoners cheered him heartily, and the exercises were then closed by the benediction.

This scene had a direct moral influence on the prisoners. It was calculated to stimulate them to reform, and strengthen any good resolutions which had sprung up in their minds. As the prison doors again closed upon the inmates, they must have felt, at least, a desire to do and be better. Grant, if you will, that this is only a transient mood, still, often out of these moods come the first promptings of a new life. Then, too, the pardoned men must have been encouraged, as, when they came into the hall, the Governor and others present met them with congratulations. A rush of tumultuous feeling almost overpowered them. After fifteen years of prison life, in the case of Streeter, and with no expectations of ever coming again in contact with the outer world, the sudden announcement of liberty was well calculated to excite feelings of unbounded joy and gratitude. In the case of the young Frenchman, who had served three years, and was expecting to remain a dozen more, the announcement was to him equally surprising and gratifying. Streeter is a man apparently about fifty years of age, and Dessordly has the appearance of being about twenty-two.

We rejoice to record the scene at this Christmas festival. It was fitting the day, as it recognizes the Christian idea of punishment, which looks not only to the vindication of justice, and the safety of society, but also to the reformation of the criminal.

THE FLOODS.

[IN MEMORY OF JOHN BROWN.]

LOOK how a river, brimmed, then heaped yet more,
Will drown his banks and flood the regions nigh,
Spreading, with bounty terrible, the store
Of melting mountain and dissolving sky.

So may a soul of power, an Amazon
Of heavenly purpose—being o'ergraced with good—
Break from the banks of prudence, rolling on
A kingdom's quiet his aggression rude.

And as, before the unappeased urge
Of influence hurrying from the heart of heaven,
He rises, widens 'yond all wonted verge....
Still on....o'er hold and hearth of Custom driven,

We that, mayhap, see Order in the guise
Of our own safety only, cry, "Behold,
These forces rude the name of Law despise;
They mock it in their foray fierce and bold."

Hidden from timid eyes the truth will be!
For lo, the deluge, too, is Order's child;
Its waters hasten but from sky to sea;
And though we citizens may deem them wild,

They journey as they must—while straying, still
Chasing their lawful channel where it goes,
Nor wid'ning but by affluence of that Will,
Which out of heaven beyond containing flows.

And when, at length, their swelling tides are gone,
The plain lies higher, and the fertile shore
Is farther stretched by that alluvion,
Whose wealth the deluge in its bosom bore.

Oh, from earth's history were the floods away,
Not well had ripened here the cosmic plan;
For many a happy harvester to-day
Gathers in golden corn their gifts to man.

And from the record of man's deed and thought
Were razed out that deluge-height of soul,
Which makes the fountained bosom all too fraught
To yield effect by nice and legal dole,—

Sure, men would hiss their drawling destinies,
And hist'ry creep, as 'twere, through cowherd lanes:
Deep ran the plough where high the harvest is;
The man-child breathes but by a mother's pains.

—*Commonwealth.* D. A. W.

OUR ANDERSONVILLE PRISONERS.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: Having accompanied the fleet in the recent exchange of prisoners at Savannah, and having seen no account anywhere from an eye-witness, I desire to give your readers a statement of some facts. The exchange is still progressing, though but slowly. About 6,000 of the 10,000 have been received and landed at Annapolis. The fleet, some 15 vessels, anchored at Port Royal, 25 miles from Point Venus in the Savannah river, where the exchange is being effected. The flagship New York, Col. Mulford's, the Eliza Hancox and the Geo. Leary, were employed as lighters to heavy steamers that could not run up the shallow Savannah; and this furnished an opportunity to those on board these vessels to look into and behold wondrous things out of rebel prisons.

To describe the wretchedness and misery, the filth and starvation, is more than I can do. There is something about this suffering that cannot reach the mind through the medium of words. The indignation, mingled with a strange kind of pity, one feels, is not so easily described. The suffering of our prisoners surpasses anything, I am sure, ever witnessed in any land, either Christian or barbarian, unless it may be the Inquisition. At first we were disposed to blame our boys for their filth and blackness. It was difficult to tell whether we were receiving white men or negroes, from outward appearances. But when we heard their story, and the story of the "dead line," how it cut them off from all resources, the matter was made plain. We believed their story, for it was one and essentially the same thing out of every mouth. On receiving our men, we attempted to make them comfortable and clean, and save as many as possible, although an alarming per cent. must and will die. They *are* dying from causes that run back to that living hell upon earth, the Andersonville stockade. Here is an actual case; multiply it by 5,000. A walking skeleton, yes, I mean it, *a skeleton;* how it had life, I cannot tell, but I am sure it was a skeleton and nothing more, once, I should think, a large and healthy man, now diseased as much as skin and bones could be—filthy—*naked* as when it came into the world—speaks: "*Chaplain, I am in a bad condition.*" So I thought, and in the name of God and the "U. S. Christian Commission" I gave him clothing. I say multiply this case by 5,000, with this exception: it may be some of the poor boys have some part of an old garment upon them, and if so, it is abundantly tenanted by other creatures than human. But multitudes are positively naked. Stripped of everything of value to the enemy, they were turned into a stockaded field, something as farmers turn sheep into a lot; and there they were left, without the least shelter, with nothing to lie upon but the earth itself, and with the poorest food imaginable; so poor that I dare not undertake to describe it here, as the soldiers speak of it, lest it should not be believed. The mind must be aided by the actual presence of these men, as they came into our hands, in order to believe one half they say. Our very swine fare better than they fared, for we give them some kind of litter and shelter, and enough to eat. Inside of this stockade at Andersonville, and within a few yards of it, runs a line or slender rail, called the "*dead line.*" Whoever, whether from accident, ignorance or any other cause, should so much as put his hand upon it, was instantly shot, and any guard who should manage to shoot a "damned Yankee," could have a furlough of thirty days! I was told that one rebel on picket managed to shoot *seven* of our soldiers. New prisoners coming in, ignorant of rules and half dead, were a common target. So that out of thirty-three thousand prisoners, from one cause and another, mostly from starvation, I was assured by every one that opened his mouth upon the subject, that over ten thousand, and some said thirteen thousand, died in a little over five months, and all this in a single prison, and that not Libby nor Belle Island, but simply Andersonville, Georgia!

Ask, if you will, why these men did not keep clean. They solemnly affirm that men were shot for no greater crime than going to the brook, running through their inclosure, to wash. A rebel, brought up a tyraut, and confessedly reckless of human life, would want only a very small pretext to shoot a "Yankee," if he was anxious for a furlough. There is still another feature to this prison. The most consummate meanness is practiced in influencing our men to join the rebel ranks. I cannot now speak of particulars, but *lies* concerning our government were common—that it had given up the conflict and consequently left them to care for themselves—*threats*, if they did not enlist they should be shot—*starvation;* if they would join their army they should be well cared for and promoted, so that under one influence and another, it is confidently believed that from three to five thousand have enlisted from the prisoners. I state these things upon the unanimous authority of the soldiers returning; I need not say that they are vehement in their exclamations, and touching in their artless statements.

A leaf from my diary. "One poor fellow now on our main deck, merely skin and bones, tells his story, and it is enough to make the hardest heart weep for joy, that we have such brave, true, uncomplaining and glorious young men. Nearly at the point of starvation, he was plied daily to recant and go over to the enemy, but day by day his answer was firm, "he had suffered for his country, and he could die for it." Glorious spirit. Shall we not in some way do these brave souls justice? As I write, the air rings with patriotic songs; that new revival song, "The Union Forever," "Rally round the Flag, boys," and "Three Cheers for the Red, White and Blue." And groans for the old "bull pen" of Andersonville. I never was known to shout, but I really feel like it to-night. God bless these noble boys. Pen cannot describe the scene here; the emaciated, the lame, the sick and wounded, and yet every man has the soul of a prince. They have been tested, and as Christ, when tempted of the devil, so have they come off more than conquerors. They are unpolluted as to their firmness and loyalty. However, a sadness comes over me when I think of the tens of thousands still left behind, literally to perish by inches in those Southern "*hells.*" Could these poor fellows be seen by every Northern man just as they come into our hands, I am sure there would be no further need of bounties, but an indignant and outraged people would rise as one man to forever extinguish that power by which such cruelties are perpetrated.

During the hot weather as many as 170 have died in a day, in a single camp, and the poor fellows, lying in their own filth, with none to lift them out of it, became alive with vermin, which actually ate away parts of the system, especially in cases of diarrhœa, while yet the poor fellow had life.

Here is a statement coming from Belle Island, in respect to food. They solemnly affirm that they were reduced to such a point of starvation that a dog or cat was a perfect luxury! The dog of a rebel Captain came upon the island with him and was no sooner seen than he was drawn aside and slain, and some parts of him put immediately in process of cooking. The Captain missing his dog ascertained the facts in regard to his disposal, found the man who committed the deed, and compelled him to live upon his raw flesh until he had devoured nearly one hind quarter. Nay, more, their starvation was such, that actually beans that had been but partially cooked, and hence undigested, although eaten, were picked from the vomit and excrement of the poor sick boys, and recooked and eaten! And at Andersonville they made soup of snakes and beans, a small black or brown bean, specimens of which I saw, and which had become shells for maggots in almost every case, and these were cooked and eaten! And then, too, in regard to some of the dead, it is affirmed by multitudes that the hogs feed upon the dead bodies of our poor boys. I will not say this is designed, but it is nevertheless a solemn fact, a horrible, inhuman neglect; a base and revolting feature of inhumanity. It is too shocking to give their statement of the history of bones out of which soup was made. I refrain. Readers, if these *statements* are revolting, as they *are*, oh! how terrible the reality to which noble men, brothers, fathers, American citizens have been subjected. If it were necessary thousands of names could be appended to these facts. There is no reason to disbelieve them, with these men right before us.

But to crown the whole with a meanness unheard of, our boys were told by rebel guards that if on coming in sight of our flag (the old flag of their pride, and for which they had suffered so long and so terribly), any demonstrations were made by way of cheering, the persons so demeaning themselves should be at once singled out and remanded back into the stockade. And further, if it should be repeated a second time they would be fired upon indiscriminately. Expecting some demonstrations of joy, and not seeing any, we were led to inquire as to the cause both from the nature of the case, also that when the rebel prisoners left our boats, and even before, the whole region round about was made vocal with their songs and shouts of joy, and no one thought of preventing it. But, thank God, these rebels could not prevent tears of joy from streaming down these haggard but now cheerful faces as they landed once more on friendly ground. God bless these boys! and may their hatred to the rebellion grow with their returning energies, until the enemy shall feel as he has never yet felt the power of an outraged people. From all I have seen and heard I am convinced that it is the practice, if not the deliberate purpose of the rebels, to put to death just as many of our men, their prisoners, as lies in their power, and not murder them outright. It *is* really and before God murder, but military license covers a multitude of iniquities in this world. This whole matter invites attention and close investigation. I have only referred to a few points, perhaps among the most striking, without attempting a minute account of anything. These soldiers will tell their own story when they get home. It is but justice here to say that the people of Savannah treated our soldiers kindly. The good ladies and friends there will ever be remembered by them with feelings of sincere gratitude.

D. H. BLAKE.

FOR THE ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

NIGHT AFTER THE BATTLE.

I WAITED there on the battle-field when the tumult of strife was done;
There with the dead, while the black-browed earth reeled dizzily over the sun,
And the sullen moments crept away with a noiseless, ghostly tread;
There with the pallid poppy leaves of slumber around me spread,
On the hand, and brow, and lip, and heart, of the dying and the dead.
The wound on my head ached wearily; the wound in my bosom bled,
Till I scarce could pray with the fainting lip where a passionate fever fed.
Yet, oh! how I longed for a drop of dew from the clear, cold, starry skies,
To cool the heavy lids that pressed hot on my sleepless eyes.
A boy—ah yes, he was little more—slept in a death trance there,
So near that his rigid fingers twined a lock of my matted hair.
And one, in the form of a manhood's prime, threw his strong arm over my breast;
It thrilled me once with its power of pain, then crushed with its weight of rest.
And I heard, in the silence, the low drip, drip, of a heart that was weeping near,
And struggled—but vainly—to stir my lip and pray for a deafened ear.
O ye who waltz with the jeweled night to pleasure's quick music-beat,
And find the day where its fingers white strew blossoms around your feet,
Ye never could make your moments reach, by eking them out for years,
A power of expression to meet the speech of a night like that appears.
I know that the strong, deep pulse of Time quietly, steadily throbs,
Though its breath is shortened to laughter's trills or drawn to the length of sobs.
Yet, oh! that fathomless gulf that surged between two shores of light,
Seemed like a century's pain compressed and coiled up into a night.
I thought, while I staid on that battle-field, of the waste around me there,
And bared my bleeding heart that God might read its unuttered prayer.
A prayer that asked for a fiery rod of the lightnings in His hand,
To strike the sod where the traitor trod and burn his track from the land.
A prayer that sued for the drops of rain in the eyes of the coming years,
To quench the sensuous smile of earth with a weight of heaven's pure tears.
Columbia—oh, my country, weep—weep! thou art blind, insane!
Thy dear eyes stare, and thy hollow laugh is worse than a shriek of pain.
Why is the voice of thy revelry ringing through home and hall,
While lustrous drops of thy precious life bleed on thy joy's black pall?
Why does thy forehead hide its woe under a weight of gems,
While every hour treads down the worth of a thousand diadems?
Where are the sacred, beautiful words—sister, mother, and wife?
And the prayer of faith, valor's white shield that strengthens its arm in strife?
Seek for the words where a painted cheek blossoms out in the bowers,
Where the atmosphere of a putrid mirth withers all purer flowers.
Seek for the prayer where a mimic phrase copies a sentiment,
And goes from a lip mechanically moved to an ear unheeding bent.
Columbia, weep for the heartlessness, the selfishness, the pride,
That bridges thy billowy wave of life and scatters its surges wide!
Thy triumph waits on the farther shore, but oh, till thy conquest comes,
Mix not the tremble of ivory keys with the passionate throb of drums!
Let every pulse in the Nation's heart beat to the same deep strain,
War, strong war, while it must be war, peace that we can retain.
Let us have no soulless pageantry, let us have no mimic strife,
We do not fence for a jewelled glove, we fight for a nation's life.

S. E. CARMICHAEL.

Great Salt Lake City, Dec. 1, 1864.

SLAVERY AND THE UNITARIANS.—Lately I wrote you about the Unitarians in England, and their disposition, by a large majority, to oppose the North in the present war. I should, perhaps, have said that there are some exceptions, and that those make up for their want of numbers in their energy. I remember being, about fourteen years ago, at a fine collation which the Unitarians of Dr. Barnap's congregation at Baltimore had prepared on the occasion of the assembling in that city of the Autumnal Conference of that church. During all the meetings of the Conference, though New England was largely represented, nothing *political* had been touched upon, out of deference to the prejudices of Baltimore—unless, perhaps, an acrid denial as "a lie," given by Dr. Gannett to the allegation that Daniel Webster had died a Trinitarian, may be excepted. But at the collation up rose a man with fine brow and a very frank countenance, and declared, after making a speech that all enjoyed, that "he could not sit down without alluding to a subject (sensation) which had been pressed upon his attention wherever he had gone in that neighborhood (terrible sensation). He alluded to Human Slavery (violent movement and whispering, excitement, pallor). I feel that our Unitarian faith can never really succeed unless it speaks out boldly against this flagrant (a deep groan from some one), this plain violation of every Christian precept." Ah, Francis Bishop, of England, you had liberated your soul, no doubt, but what had you done to the souls of the congregated brethren? "Had he said another word," remarked Dr. Burnap, "he would have been interrupted. We might as well draw a razor across our throats at once as talk that way in Baltimore." That same Francis Bishop is now a brave and earnest defender of the North, and his blows to his antagonists on this question here are just as telling as that which I witnessed and saw the Autumnal Assembly of Baltimore stagger under, so long ago.—*M. D. Conway, in the Commonwealth.*

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